which could be modified at will began to be the rule. Because his wife had strong inclinations to command people and have power over her surroundings, together with her husband she directed the Land of Hatti towards a religious line of action.

The Excesses of Puduhepa

Puduhepa was becoming more powerful day by day and in this the fact that she was a woman was especially influential. As we said above, already in the 7th millennium BC, as is seen at Çatal Höyük, the "mother goddess" was more esteemed than all the other deities. We have seen that in the age of the Hattian civilization the goddess Wurusemu was chief deity and the Tawannannas, or queen mother, played a great role. The Indo-European Hittites had willingly continued this Hattian practice of respect for women and equal rights for both sexes. But Puduhepa in addition to this linked all her endeavors to divine power and support and thus controlled those around her. That she put her seal, together with that of the king, to the peace of Kadesh or other political contracts, that she even signed alone certain documents was not extraordinary, given the role that woman played in the Hittite civilization. But Puduhepa put the Hittite religion itself into a new form according to the Babylonian character of the Hurrian example and practice. Further, the Babylonian goddess Ishtar and the underworld deity Lelwani played a great role in this renovated Hittite religion and were the cause of a tendency to bind the realistic Hittite religion to the other world. Again, as we shall note further on, Puduhepa may have seen, at Yazılıkaya, herself as the goddess Hepat, her husband as the Storm God of the Sky and their son as Sharruma (Fig. 55). From then on, oriental religious practices, such behavior as the deification of kings during their lifetimes, began to take root among the Hittites as well. This is clearly revealed by their son Tudhaliyas' wearing of the horned conical cap on certain seal impressions from Ras Shamra (Fig. 48) and by the fact that he is three times depicted at Yazılıkaya.

The excavations of Boğazköy (Hattusha) and Ras Shamra (Ugarit) have brought to light many tablets bearing seal impressions of Hattusilis. Let us look at one of the examples found at Hattusha (Fig. 45). In the cuneiform text are read the words *"Seal of the Great King, the Hero, Tabarna Hattusilis"*. The queen's name is given in hieroglyphs only; these are the signs under the wing to our right of the winged sun symbol.

The hieroglyph on the far left, the tall triangle with, above it, the sign with two curled ends, means great king. The pitchfork or thunderbolt shaped sign gives the sound *ha*. Beneath it, the sign in the shape of a horizontal knife is the equivalent of the sound *li*, as we have previously seen in the names Mursilis and Muwatallis. Together these two signs give *Ha-li.* The name of Hattusilis is always given in abbreviated form in hieroglyphic writing, like the *Ha-li* here. In the great Nişantaşı (pronounced Nishantashi) inscription at Boğazköy and in the relief of Hattusilis III at Fraktin the name is again written in this shortened form. The sign at the far right, that is the head of a queen with, above it, the hieroglyph with two curled ends, when taken together mean great queen (as we have seen on seals considered previously). To its left the four signs written one below the other, give the sounds, from top to bottom, *pu-du-he-pa.* Of these signs the third and fourth from the top we shall meet again

as the first two signs of the name of the goddess Hepat at Yazılıkaya. The second sign from the top, *i.e.*, the sign in the form of a boot which is here read as *du*, we shall see below as the first syllable of the name of the Great King Tudhaliyas.

We also find Puduhepa's name in both cuneiform and hieroglyphs on a seal impression found at Tarsus. On one from Ugarit only the name Puduhepa is present. That is, Puduhepa could sign documents on her own. For the role of the queens among the Hittites, see Muhibbe Darga, *Eski Anadolu'da Kadın* (= Women in Ancient Anatolia), 1978, pp. 23-59.

At Boğazköy itself seal impressions carrying the name of Hattusilis only have been found. In the best preserved of these (Fig. 44), the following words are read in the inner band of cuneiform: *"Favorite of Ishtar of the city of Samuha, of the Sky God of Nerik, of the Sun Goddess of Arinna"*. Based on other examples of Hattusilis' seals one may say that on the outer band of the seal, now broken off, was written *"Seal of the Great King, King of the Land of Hatti, His Majesty Tabarna Hattusilis"*. The two hieroglyphs in the center, the pitchfork-shaped sign and the knife, reveal that the seal belongs to Hattusilis. In the previously considered seal impressions of Mursilis (Fig. 38a - c) we have seen a combination of signs that gives the sounds *Mur-li.*

At Yazılıkaya except for the relief of Tudhaliyas in the large gallery, all of the reliefs in Structure D and in the open-air sanctuary must be from the reign of Hattusilis. For here the deities are named according to the Hurrian religion which Hattusilis and Puduhepa had introduced into the Land of Hatti, as is seen from the hieroglyphs next to them. In this temple were worshipped the sky god and, together with him, the goddess Hepat. The pair of deities who are husband and wife must be a novelty developed by Hattusilis or, more exactly, by Puduhepa. From now on the divine couple consisting of husband and wife were to take the forefront. In the framework of this thinking it is understood that in the Great Temple of Boğazköy, with its two cult statue chambers, besides the Storm God Hepat also (or, by her Hittite name, the Sun Goddess of Arinna) was worshipped. That in the new great temple a divine pair consisting of husband and wife was worshipped is witness the fact that this large structure also came into being in the reign of Hattusilis. Since this is so many of the buildings on Büyükkale were also created in the reign of Hattusilis III.

Tudhaliyas IV (1250 - 1220 BC)

The reign of the son of Hattusilis III, Tudhaliyas IV, was also a brilliant phase of the Hittite period. The Hittites retained without change the lands they had previously held, including Syria. Amurru was as before a kingdom bound to Hattusha and was a buffer state between the spheres of Egypt and the Hittite Great Kingdom. Though Assyria under Tikulti-Ninurta (1243 - 1207 BC) was on a level to cause anxiety for Hattusha, Tudhaliyas was in control of the situation and strong enough to forbid trading with Assyria by Amurru, Egypt's neighbor. In a treaty made with its king, Shavga-Muwaya, Tudhaliyas was able to give stern commands such as:

"No merchant of yours shall go to Assyria, nor will you admit any of their merchants into your country, nor shall they pass through your country."

From the introduction to this same treaty we learn the leading powers of the day and the strong position of the Hittite state among them: *"and if I, My Majesty, am friends to kings equal to me, to the kings of Egypt and Babylon and Assyria* (erased: *"and the king of Ahhiyawa"), you will be friends with them; if I am not friendly with them you shall not be either"*.

As Tudhaliyas clearly states, in his time the major states were Egypt, the Land of Hatti, Babylon and Assyria. But the Hittite and Egyptian kingdoms were, to use a modern expression, the super-powers of the day.

In listing the large states of the second half of the 13th century BC we must of course make mention of the Mycenaean federation of kingdoms; thus we will have completed the list. It is very interesting that in the above text Ahhiyawa is mentioned last and later erased. First the Hittite king and his "chief scribe" included Ahhiyawa, but then for some reason they erased it. But though erased, the words "*and the king of Ahhiyawa*" are readable (we shall touch upon the subject of Ahhiyawa further on).

As we learn from a seal impression found at Boğazköy, Tudhaliyas was the first Hittite ruler to call himself "king of the universe" as the Assyrians did. This royal title had begun to be used in Assyria since Adad-Niari (1297 - 1265 BC). It looks as if Tudhaliyas, in order not to lag behind those kings around him who were becoming powerful and trying to establish authority with ambitious titles, was obliged to imitate them.

Cordial relations with Egypt continued. The pharaoh Mereptah writes in the inscriptions of Karnak that in the first years of his reign he sent grain when there was a famine in the Land of Hatti. However, as has been revealed by a text found at Ras Shamra (Ugarit), this was not a general famine but only concerned the city of Ura in Cilicia. Yet in the last line of this text the matter is declared to be one of life and death.

Tudhaliyas was in particular obliged to struggle with rebellions in western Anatolia. The written sources mention two attacks made by Tudhaliyas into Assuwa and record that in the first he took 10.000 prisoners and 600 horse drawn chariots as plunder. The relief carved upon a rock face at Karabel, in the sub-district of Kemalpaşa near Izmir, must be a victory monument he had made after the fighting in Assuwa. That the relief of Tudhaliyas is situated here reveals that Assuwa was this region. As is known, in the Roman period Izmir, Ephesos and the surrounding area were called Asia. Thus it seems reasonable that since they closely resemble each other, the term of the Roman period is the same as the Hittites' Assuwa.

It may be said that the Hittite written sources mention Alaksandus, prince of Wilusa and that his name recalls that of Alexander, son of Priam. Likewise the land of Taruwisa men-

tioned in texts concerning western Anatolia bears close resemblance to the name Troy. However the precise and harsh criticisms of a great philologist like Sommer and of other philologists who supported him have prevented acceptance of this interesting comparison. The idea was first proposed by Former together with certain other inconsistent claims. However we are of the opinion that the similarities between Taruwisa: Troy, Wilusa: Ilios and Alaksandus: Alexandros should not be dismissed. For it is not in accord with common sense to think that this similarity involving a country, its capital and a king is a coincidence. There remains also the fact that the period when these Hittite texts were written was contemporary with the most brilliant period of Ilion: Troy VIh. The situation of Lukka (Lykia) and of Ahhiyawa is obscure. The Hittite sources often make mention of Ahhiyawa in particular. They relate that princes of Ahhiyawa were sent to Hattusha to learn the use of war chariots. However the Ahhiyawa of the Hittite texts must be the country where lived the people whom Homer called Achaioi (Achaeans) in the *Iliad*; in other words, present day Greece. For the Ahhiyawa problem see Güterbock, "A New Look at One Ahhiyawa Text", *Presented to Sedat Alp*, Ankara 1992, pp. 235-243.

The written sources reveal that during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV Alasiya, that is, Cyprus, was taken over by Hattusha and upon this kingdom was imposed a tribute to be paid in gold and copper. To insure that the conditions of the agreement were properly carried out a governor was appointed in addition to the king. Until the collapse of Hattusha the island of Cyprus remained attached to the Hittite kingdom.

Tudhaliyas was a statesman who understood the dangers awaiting his country and the measures necessary to prevent them. In his orders concerning military matters he states (according to Sedat Alp):

If the officers and men desert this will immediately be reported to the palace. If the king himself takes part in the battle, the soldiers must fight with all their strength. When such work is done it must be done with the whole heart and for the future it must be made eternal and continuous"

A later document called the Madduwattas Text, which was written in the reign of Arnuwandas III, gives the story of a kinglet in western Anatolia, who had since the time of Tudhaliyas IV continually been increasing his power; finally he became a major danger for the Land of Hatti. This matter of a minor sovereign tells us that towards the end of the 13th century BC the Achaeans also raided other Anatolian places besides Troy.

In a mountainous area between Sakarya and Porsuk called Zippasla, Tudhaliyas IV instated as lord, a certain Madduwattas who was a noble "of Ahhiyawa". He had been defeated by king Attarissiyas of Ahhiyawa. But Madduwattas attacked Arzawa, a coastal country to the south of him and took it by force of arms. Applying the policy of the Hittite kings Madduwattas gave his daughter in marriage to the Arzawan king Kupantakalas, whom he had made vassal to himself. After this Madduwattas also bound to himself the principality of Hapalla in the lake area of Burdur and Eğirdir. The Hittite king was unable to prevent this





Fig. 47 Seal impression of King Tudhaliyas III (1400 - 1380 BC) or King Tudhaliyas IV. From Hattusha.

Fig. 48 Seal impression of King Tudhaliyas IV (1250 - 1220 BC). From Ugarit. (*Ugaritica* III 19, Fig. 24).



Fig. 49 Hieroglyphs identifying King Tudhaliyas IV (see: Fig. 48).

he could only achieve acceptance by Madduwattas of his claims upon Hapalla. However Madduwattas subsequently also took the Pitasha principality south of the Salt Lake into his control. Thus the Land of Hatti was surrounded by a line of enemy powers starting from west of Sakarya and, continuing through the area of Konya, extending to the shores of the Mediterranean around present day Antalya. This coalition in which all the western Anatolian principalities took part and which defied the four centuries old authority of Hattusha, began to develop in the reign of Tudhaliyas and in the time of Arnuwandas III it became an ominous political power. These enemy forces, which came into being in western Anatolia in a short time, were the major factor in the end of Hittite sovereignty around 1190 BC.

The Last Brilliant Period of Hittite Art

In the reign of Tudhaliyas Hittite art reached its summit. Among the Hittite rulers the most numerous and beautiful images of kings are those of Tudhaliyas. In the open air temple of Yazılıkaya there were two reliefs of him and also a statue; the reliefs are well preserved but of the statue only the base and the inscription remain. In particular, beautiful impressions of his seals have been found (Fig. 47, 48). In one of these we see him under the arm of the god Sharruma (Fig. 48). That Tudhaliyas here wears the horned cap of the gods attracts attention. This reveals that an oriental belief had become established in the Land of Hatti, that is, the Hittite kings had begun to consider themselves gods during their lifetimes as in the countries of the Middle East.

The figure having a pointed cap and long skirt train which is opposite the god Sharruma and king Tudhaliyas depicts a goddess or a queen (Fig. 48). But the sign, seen in triplicate above the left hand and twice below, which consists of a pair of half ellipses, one opposite the other, means deity and is used to identify both gods and goddesses. We recognize from other royal seals the hieroglyph in the form of an emblem immediately below the winged sun which symbolizes royalty. On both right and left we see the sign for great king, that is, a tall triangle capped by a sign whose two ends are curled. The sign consisting of a dagger and a flower, placed symmetrically, is again a symbol of royalty. The vertical sign in the very center also means royalty. The hieroglyph having a vertical sign in the center and a half ellipse on either side is read as sacred mountain. As we have learned from the written texts, the royal names Ammuna, Arnuwandas and Tudhaliyas were originally names of sacred mountains. The image in the shape of a boot, which we see beneath the hieroglyph for sacred mountain gives the sound *tu* or *du*. Since this is so a *tu* underneath the hieroglyph for sacred mountain is the first syllable of the name Tudhaliyas. With this sign for sacred mountain and the sound *tu* it emerges that Tudhaliyas Mountain and thus King Tudhaliyas is meant (Fig. 49).

The hieroglyph in the form of the lower half of a human body in the center of the seal below the name of Tudhaliyas and between the two signs for great king, together with the four lines seen in two pairs on the two sides of the hips, are read as Sharruma; this is the name of the god who takes king Tudhaliyas under his arm (Fig. 48). With the intention of filling the empty space, the name of King Tudhaliyas is repeated in the lower portion of the

seal. But this time another symmetrically placed sign is also seen. Laroche reads this as "the life of Tudhaliyas" (Fig. 48, 49).

Arnuwandas III (1220 - 1200 BC)

In the reign of the son of Tudhaliyas IV, Arnuwandas III, the situation in western Anatolia began to turn against the Hittite state. In the complaint against Madduwattas, king of the small state of Zippasla which had broken away from Hattusha, the great king of the Hittites states openly the difficulties with which he was faced. Zippasla was situated somewhere in the center of western Anatolia. Madduwattas was the ruler of Zippasla, which was originally an unimportant kingdom attached to the Hittite federal state; step by step he had increased his sphere of influence and taken over the southwestern part of the peninsula. Arnuwandas complains that, *"Madduwattas broke the oath he had sworn to the father of Myself the Sun and took over all of the land of Arzawa"*. Arzawa was a region in the southwest of Anatolia. Madduwattas had become strong enough to attack Alasiya, that is, the island of Cyprus. From the complaint just mentioned it is understood that a number of the federal lords in Anatolia had rebelled against Hattusha. Thus the disobediance of Arnuwandas' grandfather, Hattusilis III, who as a vassal prince had overthrown his nephew King Mursilis III, created a precedent for others. In particular the small kingdoms of the Hittite federal state in western Anatolia revolted; these even united and created a coalition against Hattusha. In the east a minor king of the land of Pakuwa, called Mita, was cause for worry. The name of this king recalls that of the later king of Mushki, that is, King Midas of the Phrygians. With great probability Mita was one of the forerunners of the Phrygians coming from eastern Europe. Perhaps he was chief of one of the Mushki tribes which the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser (1115 - 1093) states were seen on the borders of Assyria fifty years before his accession to the throne. But in the reigns of Arnuwandas III and of his brother, Suppiluliumas II, the last of the Hittite kings, the principal danger was coming from western Anatolia and increasing like an avalanche.

Suppiluliumas II (1200 - 1190 BC)

With the Boğazköy texts that he published in 1948 Kemal Balkan established the fact that the last Hittite ruler was a king named Suppiluliumas. As is understood from the written sources Arnuwandas III had no children by his wife or by the women of his harem and for this reason his brother Suppiluliumas was brought to the throne.

From the terms of the oath of allegiance to Suppiluliumas which was taken by the chief scribe at Hattusha it is understood that disorders had begun to appear in the palace itself:

"I shall protect only the children of my lord Suppiluliumas... when the Land of Hatti rebelled my lord His Majesty took to his side my father, my mother and myself while I was still a young child... While the elder brother of His Majesty was king I had grown up and I protected him. I was never at fault towards him... when the people of Hatti made troubles for him I never left his side."

From these words we understand that in the country and even in the palace itself calamities were developing. Doubtless the chief scribe was speaking for Suppiluliumas, when stating that "I was never at fault towards him" and meant that Suppiluliumas did not depose Arnuwandas. It looks as if there were numerous intrigues in the palace. Thus it is revealed that the rebellions which had appeared in the time of Arnuwandas had spread during the reign of his brother Suppiluliumas.

In the southeast the situation was good. The kings of Carchemish, Ugarit and Amurru were continuing policies in accord with Hittite interests and were doing battle under the Great King. Two written texts express both the loyalty of the southeast to Hattusha and the approach of a great danger threatening the whole of the Near East. The king of Alasiya, that is, Cyprus, reminds King Ammurapi of Ugarit that enemy ships will attack and that for this reason it is necessary to repair the fortresses and make ready the warriors and the chariots. To this Ammurapi answers "does my father not know that all my armed forces are in the Land of Hatti and that my ships are waiting in the Land of Lukka?" As these words make clear the palace at Hattusha was holding in readiness even the forces of border principalities against internal danger and, further, that to prevent an attack from the exterior, it was trying to protect the southern borders with the ships of allies.

The Collapse of the Hittite State

The Hittite state had now come to the end of its life span. As is shown by the writings of the chief scribe of the palace on the occasion of his oath of loyalty to Suppiluliumas, the people had rebelled (see above). When to this was added an enemy coming from the exterior this great political organization which had continued for half a millennium suddenly collapsed. For it is understood that this new enemy coming by both sea and land was truly powerful. So much so that it not only destroyed Troy and Hattusha, but also the same enemy attacked by sea and by land the whole of the Near East and Egypt.

The Land of the Nile encountered only the last wave of this great migration of tribes. Nevertheless the Egyptians were very intimidated by this enemy, whom they named "the northern tribes" or sometimes "the sea peoples". The Egyptian king Ramesses III (1197-1165 BC) relates this terrible aggression on the walls of the temple of Medinet Habu in the following way: *"No kingdom of the Land of Hatti was able to withstand this attack. Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa, Alasiya were destroyed. They camped in a place in the kingdom of Amurru."* After relating that these tribes, advancing with ships and oxcarts, everywhere killed people to the last man, he says *"with fire before them they began to come towards Egypt"*. In the inscriptions and pictures on the temple of Medinet Habu it is related that at last the "northern tribes" were defeated. But what these tribes did in Anatolia and the Near East caused a dark age lasting two to four hundred years, as will be seen below.

Since this great battle in the Land of the Nile was fought in the eighth year of the reign of Ramesses III, it may be seen that it happened approximately 1190/1180 BC.

This approximate date which we obtain from the Egyptian sources is in accordance with the dates we deduce from the Assyrian and Hittite writings and from the stratigraphy of Troy.

In our book *Anadolu Uygarlıkları (Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey)* we noted that a Hittite text mentions a king by the name of Mita in a small kingdom called Pakuwa, which is thought to be located in southeastern Turkey. We suggested that the name of this king resembles that of Midas of the Phrygians and that if this resemblance is not a coincidence Mita and the forces under his command may have come to Anatolia from eastern Europe like the Phrygians. If this thinking is correct the attacking tribes coming from the Balkans in the last years of the Hittite state may have avoided Hattusha and reached southeastern Anatolia. It is understood that this is with great probability true. For the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser (1112- 1074 BC) relates that fifty years before he came to the throne his country had warred with 20.000 Mushki seen on its frontiers. Mushki may be another name for the Phrygians or they may have been another tribe which like them came from the Balkans. Thus King Mita of Pakuwa and the people under his rule and also the Mushki seen along the northern borders of Assyria must be a portion of the "northern tribes" related by the Egyptians. As Tiglath-Pileser acceded to the throne around 1112 BC the date for the appearance of twenty thousand Mushki along Assyria's northern border becomes 1162 BC. But one should take into consideration that the fifty years mentioned by the Assyrian king is a round figure. It may be more like 60 or 70 years. Thus the appearance of the "northern tribes" in southeastern Anatolia and their attack upon Egypt with great probability happened around 1190/1180 BC. Results from the excavations of Troy support this view. In fact the Balkan tribes, or in Ramesses III's terns, the "northern tribes", would only have been able to attack Anatolia after they had destroyed the settlement of Troy VIIa.

To form an image of the immense drama happening in Anatolia in those years we may briefly say this. After the fall of the strong fortress of Troy VI in 1240 BC or later, the way was now open into the lands of Anatolia; these the Balkan tribes had coveted for a long time. Thus they first occupied Troy (Troy VIIb2), then avoiding Hattusha, which was a stronghold difficult to take, they came to southeastern Anatolia. Via Carchemish and Syria they later turned towards Amurru, further to the south and from there to Egypt. On the other hand the ships of the Sea Peoples, after capturing Cyprus, tried to land on the shores of Egypt. This migration and aggression in the form of sea raids probably took 10 to 20 years to reach Egypt. As we see from the Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs, together with these chariots and the army, children and women riding in ox-carts took place in these ruthless raids in the form of a migration. Among the fighters, as well as some whose heads were covered by feathers, there were also others who had helmets decorated with horns. The enemy that the king of Alasiya, that is, Cyprus, described to King Ammurapi of Ugarit as coming with ships was probably these.

After this enormous upheaval, also known in history as "the Aegean migration", Hellas, that is, Greece, Anatolia and Syria must have been horribly devastated. For the major portions of these countries were buried in a silence lasting 200/400 years. During this time central Anatolia suffered the greatest loss. In excavations done in dozens of places in the bend

of the Halys, no trace of civilization is encountered that belongs to the years between 1190-780 BC, a period of 400 years. This Dark Age lasted two to four hundred years in western Anatolia, 400 years in southern Anatolia and in Syria one to three hundred years according to the location. In Hellas also civilization is interrupted for a period of from 200 to 300 years according to the place in question. All the countries mentioned had been ruled throughout the second millennium BC either by feudal lords, kings or federated states. Civilization, in particular reading and writing, was a monopoly of the rich and noble; the common people were illiterate. Therefore when the feudal principalities or federated states like the Great Kingdom of the Hittites were dispersed, every kind of civilized activity disappeared with them. Thus writing, which had also been used in Hellas between 1400 and 1200 BC, was forgotten. In both countries writing, the first prerequisite of civilization, again began to be used only four centuries later in the 8th century BC.

LIST OF HITTITE KINGS

The Old Kingdom

Hattusilis I	1660-1630 BC
Mursilis I	1630-1600 BC
Hantilis I	1600-1570 BC
Zidanta I	1570-1560 BC
Ammuna	1560-1540 BC
Huzziyas I	1540-1535 BC
Telipinus	1535-1510 BC
Alluwamnas	1510-1500 BC
Hantilis II	1500-1490 BC
Zidanta II	1490-1480 BC
Huzziyas II	1480-1460 BC

The Great Kingdom

Tudhaliyas II	1460 -1440 BC
Arnuwandas I	1440-1420 BC
Hattusilis II	1420-1400 BC
Tudhaliyas III	1400-1380 BC
Suppiluliumas	1380-1345 BC
Arnuwandas II	1346-1345 BC
Mursilis II	1345-1315 BC
Muwatallis	1315-1282 BC
Mursilis III (Urhi-Teshup)	1282-1275 BC
Hattusilis III	1275-1250 BC
Tudhaliyas IV	1250-1220 BC
Arnuwandas III	1220-1200 BC
Suppiluliumas II	1200-1190 BC

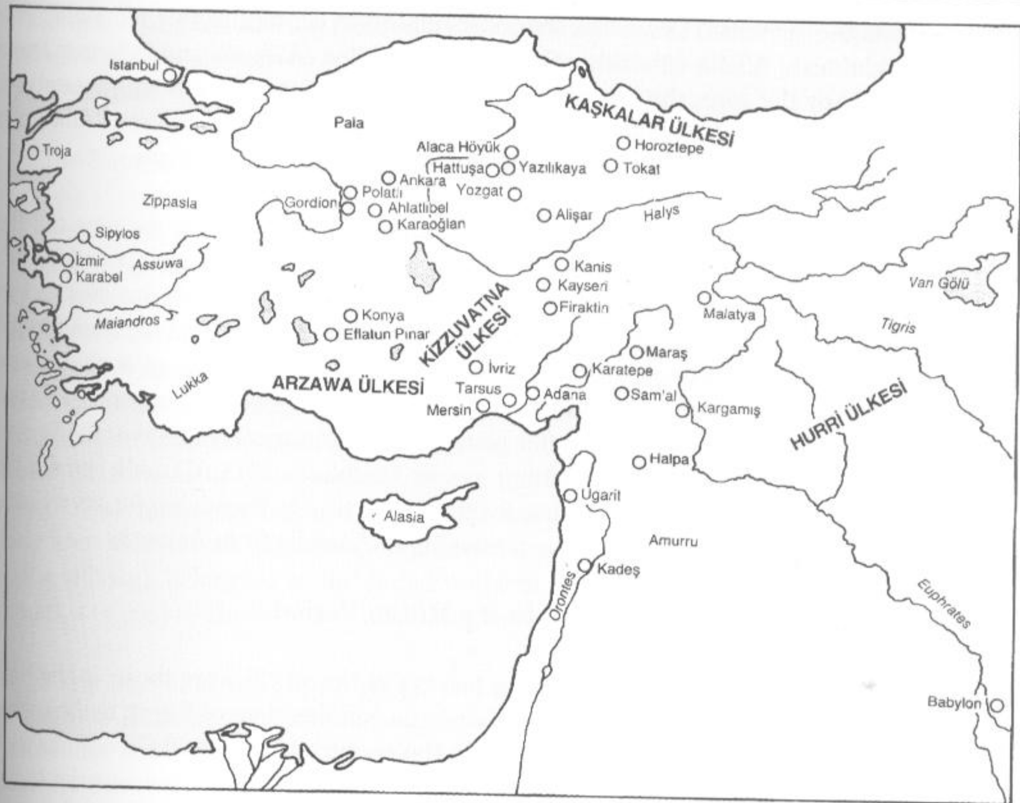


Fig. 50 Anatolia in the Hittite Period.

The Position and Importance of the Hittite State in World History

The Hittite state, located in the middle of Anatolia (Fig 50) was completely surrounded by many smaller states. These small and medium sized kingdoms and groups were: in the eastern Black Sea region, the Kaska folk; in the western Black Sea and the area of ancient Paphlagonia, the Pala folk; in northwestern Anatolia around modern Çanakkale, Taruisa (Troy) and Wilusa (Ilion); in the center of western Anatolia Assuwa (that is, what in the Hellene and Roman periods was the Province of Asia); in the Karian region, part of the kingdom of Ahhiyawa, in southwestern Anatolia the Lukka-lands (Lykia); in southern Anatolia the principalities of Arzawa and Kizzuwatna; in the southeast the Hurrians and in eastern Anatolia some small principalities whose locations are not definitely known.

The above-mentioned feudal lordships were in general independent or semi-independent kingdoms, although in some periods they were attached to the Hittite state, as for example in 1285 BC at the time of the Battle of Kadesh (see the section on Muwatallis above). Thus Hattusha was the center of a federated state. As for the kingdom of Troy, this probably never came under Hittite domination.

Outside of the Anatolian peninsula the most important centers of this federation consisted of Carchemish, Alhala (Alalakh - Tell Atchana), Halpa (Aleppo) and Babylon. These cities were ruled by the sons, the brothers and the nephews of the current king (see above, the sections on Mursilis I, Hattusilis I and Suppiluliumas). As for the kingdom of Amurru in southern Syria, this served the Hittites as a buffer state against the Egyptians.

The tribes belonging to the Indo-European language group which we now call the Hittites began to arrive in Anatolia between 2200 and 2000 BC. Between 2000 and 1700 BC, having lived sometimes in peace and sometimes at war with the native principalities such as the Hattians the Hurrians and the Kaska folk, they founded the state that we term the Old Hittite Kingdom at the beginning of the 16th century BC. This manner of acquiring new lands over a long period recalls to us the Turkish migration that was to happen exactly two thousand years later. In fact the Turks, after having settled in various regions of the Persian and Arab lands in the 9th century and setting foot in Anatolia in 1071 AD, only founded the Ottoman state in 1299, that is, after having lived side by side in friendship for several centuries with principalities of various origins remaining in Anatolia from Antiquity.

The Principal States of the World in the Hittite Period

In the time of the Hittites the controlling powers of the world were these: in the Near East, from north to south, Mitanni, Assyria, Babylonia and the state of Egypt; in the central Mediterranean area the Minoans in Crete, and in the country we now call Greece, the state of Ahhiyawa. Mitanni, which was throughout the 16th and 15th centuries superior to the Hittites (see above, the sections on the Hurrians and Suppiluliumas) came under their control in the time of Suppiluliumas I (1380 - 1345 BC).

In the age of Hammurabi (1728 - 1686 BC) the Old Babylonian Kingdom lost its power after the destruction of Babylon by Mursilis and continued a dimmed existence under the occupation of the Kassites, who were of Caucasian origin. In fact Babylon was for a long period of time ruled by the sons, brothers and nephews of the Hittite kings (see above the sections on Hattusilis I, Mursilis I and Suppiluliumas I).

The civilizations of Assur and Mari, having lived at a high level during their golden age in the 17th century BC, ceased to be important powers after the 16th century BC.

Thus the loss of political power by centers of civilization such as Assur, Mari and Babylon after the 16th, and by Mitanni after the 15th century BC opened the way for the rise of the Hittite Empire. In fact the policy of expansion to the sea and to Mesopotamia, which was initiated by Tudhaliyas II (1460 1440 BC) and especially by Mursilis I (1630 - 1600 BC), was also continued by later kings and thanks to this the Hittite state, besides political power, achieved an important place in the world's cultural fields as well. In the reigns of Suppiluliumas (1380 - 1345 BC), Mursilis II (1345 - 1315 BC), Muwatallis (1315 - 1282), Hattusilis III (1275 - 1250 BC) and Tudhaliyas IV (1250 - 1220 BC), that is, through more than a century, the Hittites shared with Egypt the domination of the Near East and of the world

of that time. For a century the Hittites, who constituted one of the two superpowers on earth, created one of the most free civilizations of Antiquity with the tolerant and humane laws that they developed.

The Languages of Anatolia in the Hittite Period (the Anatolian Mosaic)

We have mentioned above in several places that in the Hittite state three tongues of the Indo-European language group were spoken. These were: Nesian, in the central Anatolian region between Hattusha and Kültepe; Palaic, in Paphlagonia (the region of the Sakarya river and the western Black Sea), and in southern Anatolia, Luwian. We stated that in eastern Anatolia Hurrian was predominant. At Troy and in Assuwa (Asia), that is, in the north and center of western Anatolia, were with great probability living groups who spoke various tongues of the Indo-European language group. For the art of the regions in question, in particular the architecture, is closely similar to that created in the Balkans, the islands and in Greece. Also in the regions of Lydia, Karia and Lykia the Indo-European languages must have been widespread. Classical philologists have established that the tongues of Lydia and Lykia, although belonging to the Indo-European group, both contain substrata of linguistic elements of the pre-Hittite tribes (the Lelegians and the Palasgians),

In any case after the Hittite period and until the arrival of the Turks the peoples who migrated to Anatolia were without exception of Indo-European origin. In the order of their arrival they were: the Phrygians, the Hellenes, the Celts and the Romans. Thus the fact emerges that for 3270 years, from 2200 BC to 1071 AD, peoples of European origin lived in Anatolia.

This being so the native-born people of today's Turkey are an ethnic mosaic consisting of, together with the Hattians, various tribes of European origin and the Seljuk and Oğuz peoples who came from central Asia. Another interesting fact is that in the time of the Ottoman empire the Turks also mixed with the Slavic peoples of the Balkans through the *devshirme*, or recruiting of boys for the Jannisary corps. The realization of the value of these above-listed facts is an important duty which falls to our enlightened politicians.

Another interesting fact is that the most ancient of the states of European origin was founded by the Hittite kingdom of Anatolia. In fact the Indo-European kingdom of Mitanni is seen one hundred years after the Hittites. The Mycenaean state of the Achaeans only emerged in the late 15th century BC. The foundation of states by those of European origins who migrated to India and Iran only became possible at much later dates.

The Languages of Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia and of the Near East in the Hittite Period.

In the Near East the prevalent language groups were those termed the Hamitic in Egypt and the Semitic in the Arabian peninsula. The most developed tongue of the Semitic language group, Akkadian, was the language of diplomacy of the civilized world of that time.

It has been accepted that the language of the Sumerians, who came to the Arabian peninsula from outside and who developed a very brilliant civilization in the 3rd millennium BC, belongs to the Uralic-Altaic group of languages, which also includes Turkish, Japanese, Finnish and Hungarian.

It is thought that the Kassites, who held power in Old Babylon through the reigns of more that a half-dozen kings after the city of Babylon was destroyed by the Hittites, came from the Caucassus and spoke a variety of the Caucasian language.

The kings of Mitanni were, like the Hittites, members of an Indo-European language-speaking group (see below, the section on the Hurrians). They occupied the Land of Hurri at the beginning of the 16th century BC and ruled first a strong kingdom and later a small dependent state. The Hurrian language and its sequel, Urartian, were like the Hattian language peculiar to themselves.

In the 1200's BC a portion of the tribes of European origin migrating from the Balkans to Anatolia, for example the Kurds and the Armenians, settled in eastern and southeastern Anatolia, generally on the lands of the former Hurrians and their continuation, the Urartians. Later Turkish tribes such as the Akkoyunlu, the Karakoyunlu and the Avshar came here. The groups which today inhabit eastern and southeastern Anatolia are the children of peoples of Hurrian, European and central Asian origin.

Hittite Agriculture and Commerce

As we learn from the written sources, agriculture was the main livelihood of the common people in the Hittite Empire. However, again according to information derived from the tablets, there were many who worked at various crafts and those who became rich through commerce were no small number. Transport and commerce were effected with ox-carts having four solid wooden wheels, like those still seen on the Turkish *kağnı* type carts, and especially with donkeys and mules. Upkeep of the roads was done by the principalities and feudal lordships attached to the palace.

As is understood from a letter of Hattusilis III, the Hittites knew how to mine iron from the earth and were able to make with it various tools and furniture. But the same letter states that this work took a long time. Bars of silver were used as a medium of exchange, that is as a kind of money, by the Hittites as they had been in the time of the Hattians and the feudal Hittite period.

The Characteristics of Hittite Culture

As we noted a few times above, the Hittites, in spite of strong Hattian, Mesopotamian and Hurrian influences, created a high level of civilization particular to themselves, the like of which existed nowhere else in the Near East.

Foreign Elements in Hittite Culture

In previous chapters we have established clearly how much the Hittite culture was influenced by the Hattians in the fields of language, religion and art and that the Hittites were in great measure "Hattianized". We also mentioned in these sections the influences of Mesopotamia. The most important factor tying Anatolia to Mesopotamia in the Hittite period was cuneiform writing, which was used at Hattusha from the period of the Old Kingdom onwards. The Hittites were so much under the influence of Mesopotamia that in their own cuneiform writings they used the script of Akkadian and Sumerian without any change. Those who did not know the meaning of these ideograms of Mesopotamian origin were unable to understand any text that they wanted to read. In any case in those periods Akkadian was the language of diplomacy and was used for international correspondence and treaties; among the tablets of Boğazköy the broken pieces of Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite dictionaries were found. Again from this site more than one hundred texts wholly or partially in Sumerian or Akkadian were retrieved. In this connection tablets relating the Anatolian wars of Sargon and Naram-Sin in particular and also the epic of Gilgamish are examples.

Hurrian Influences

The Hittites, as we shall see below, were strongly influenced by Hurrian culture in the fields of mythology, religion and horse training. If only in a limited measure they came to know the Sumerian and Akkadian civilizations through the Hurrians.

The first Hurrian influences begin in 1450 BC and in the reign of Hattusilis III's wife, Puduhepa, they reached their most pronounced form. The most striking influence is revealed by the taking of Hurrian names by Hittite princesses. For example the following names are Hurrian: Nikkalmati, the wife of Tudhaliyas II (1460 - 1440 BC); Asmunikal, the wife of Arnuwandas I (1440 - 1420 BC); Daduhepa and Henti, the first two wives of Suppiluliumas I (1380- 1345); Malnikal, the third (?) wife of Suppiluliumas; Tanuhepa, the Tawannannas, or queen mother, of the reigns of Mursilis II (1345 - 1315 BC), Muwatallis (1315 - 1282 BC) and Mursilis III (1282 - 1275 BC) and Puduhepa, the wife of Hattusilis III (1275 - 1250 BC). The names of several of the princes are also Hurrian, for example that of the son of Suppiluliumas I, Sharru-Kushuh, king of Carchemish and, later on, two other kings of Carchemish, Ini-Teshup and Talmi-Teshup. Further, as we noted above, Mursilis III while still a prince bore the name Urhi-Teshup.

Just as the wife of Hattusilis, Puduhepa, was of Hurrian origin, it seems reasonable that several other of the princesses were brides taken from the Hurrian palace. In contrast, all the princes are naturally of Hittite lineage. That Hurrian names were so favored stemmed essentially from the fact that Hurrian civilization was at a high level. But this respect and liking felt towards the Hurrians was to a large extent also bound to political advantages. For many of the lands where the Hurrians lived were under Hittite rule. Therefore the policy of acting with leniency which they applied to the Hattians was also used on the subject of the Hurrians.

As a matter of fact the Turks, who migrated from central Asia in the 9th century BC and came to the countries of the Persians, the Arabs and the Byzantines, also held it to be a sound national policy to show affection and respect to the native peoples. For example the taking of Persian names by the feudal lords in the Great Seljuk period in Iran and later on by those of the Anatolian Seljuk period was as much bound to political interests as to affection and respect.

Although the Hittites came under strong Hattian, Mesopotamian and Hurrian influences, they did not lose their national character; on the contrary they created an original civilization using all these inspirations. A successful synthesis brought into being from the mixture of several civilizations was to be realized again in Anatolia centuries later. Truly the Ottoman civilization which the Turks created in the 16th century by making use of the Arab, Byzantine and ancient traditions together with their own central Asian characteristics, is an example of such a successful and original synthesis.

Human Rights Among the Hittites

The most important characteristic distinguishing the Hittites from their neighbors appears in their respect for human rights. As Albrecht Goetze has proved, the Hittites gave great importance to human life and to individual rights. Humiliating punishments and the pitiless judgments seen in Assyrian laws were foreign to the Hittite legal system. In the Land of Hatti there was no question of such behavior as the Assyrian practices of cutting to pieces or burning the bodies of enemies, impalement or flaying of prisoners or heaping up pyramids made from severed heads.

Nor does one encounter in Hittite art images showing that such tortures as these were carried out. Even the rights of slaves were guaranteed. For example slaves were able to marry with free women and these women did not lose their rights because of this. The slave was however required to pay a bride price. When such a marriage ended in divorce, property and children were shared according to the principles envisaged for free citizens. Thus property opened the way to the slave's freedom.

Marriage between siblings, often encountered in the countries of the orient, was punishable by death among the Hittites. The words of Suppiluliumas I in the Treaty of Hukkanash make this ruling clear:

"The sister whom I give as wife to you has other sisters of various grades. They are now your sisters, for you have married their sibling. There is an important principle in the Land of Hatti. A brother may not have sexual relations with his sisters or with their daughters. If he does, he may not live; he is killed. But in your country there are evil customs such as the sexual intercourse of a man with his sisters or cousins. This is forbidden in Hattusha. If the sister or half sister of your wife or one of their daughters should come to you, give them to eat and drink. Eat and have pride. But beware of the desire to make love to them. This is not permitted; it is punished by death."

Women's Rights Among The Hittites

One of the most interesting characteristics of the Hittite civilization is seen in the respect commanded by women in the Land of Hatti, in contrast to those who lived in Mesopotamia under the oppression of men. From the fact that the queens had almost the same powers as the kings we understand that the sexes were equal among the Hittites. The harem existed only in the palace of the king; among the common people polygamy was not practiced.

Sources: M. Darga, *Anadolu'da Kadın,* Istanbul 1973; M. Darga, *Tarihi Çağlarda Anadolu'da Kadın,* Kültür Bakanlığı Yayını: *Çağlar Boyu Anadolu'da Kadın,* Istanbul 1993, p. 26-35); Ali Dinçol, "Hititler", *Anadolu Uygarlıkları Ansiklopedisi,* Görsel Yayınları, Istanbul 1982, p. 29 - 53.

The Hittite Kings and Human Rights

With the characteristics that we have listed above the Hittites have a distinguished place in ancient history. With their rational and realistic attitude they lived for half a millennium as a strong state and a free civilization, never losing their national identity though they coexisted with dozens of native peoples of differing languages and religions.

One of the most striking characteristics of the Hittites is that they founded a state respectful of human rights. The king was supreme in religious and judicial matters as well as being head of state and commander of the armies. Relations with foreign states were also under his orders. The work of ruling the most important regions of the federated state which was his realm was given to his children. For example Suppiluliumas I appointed his son, Piyassilis, as king of Carchemish and another son, Telipinus, to the throne of the kingdom of Aleppo. Mursilis II made his brother king of Carchemish and on the death of the latter replaced him with his son. To the throne of Aleppo he brought another nephew, Remsharma (see above, the sections on Suppiluliumas I and Mursilis II). Their duties were to look after the roads and temples, keeping them in repair, and to ensure the security of transport and travel.

The Pankus (Council of Nobles)

The Hittite king became head of state through inheritance, in accordance with the law of succession to the throne established by King Telipinus. However each king *was primus inter pares,* or "first among equals", in contrast to the merciless kings of the Near East. As we have seen in the political testament of Hattusilis (1660 - 1630 BC), the nobles were not subject to the decision of the king; on the contrary matters of argument were taken in hand and decided upon by the Pankus (council of nobles). In the "law of succession" that took effect in the reign of Telipinus (1535 - 1510 BC) the rights of the nobles were held at a high level. The king is warned in definite terms; it is stated that he shall not be able to kill any of the nobles, that in quarrels of succession the decision will be taken by the Pankus and that a king who does evil will pay for it with his head.

The Oldest Constitutional Monarchy On Earth

The obligation of the Hittite kings to reach a decision on problems of the country in an assembly called the Pankus, that is, in a kind of senate, was something that happened for the first time on earth at Hattusha. Since this is so the Hittite Empire occupies a peerless place in human history as the first constitutional monarchy of the world. In contrast to the Mesopotamian sovereigns, the Hittite kings were not deified.

In Hittite texts the expression "he became a god" appears in reference to kings who had died. However we see that Tudhaliyas IV (1250 - 1220), who came to the throne towards the end of the Hittite state, wanted to imitate the behavior of kings in the Near East. As we learn from a seal impression found at Boğazköy, Tudhaliyas IV was the first Hittite king to call himself "King of the Universe", a title which in Assyria had begun to be used from the time of Adad-Nirari I (1297 - 1265 BC) onwards. This affectation is made very plain by two works. The first is the large relief of himself in gallery A of the open-air temple of Yazılıkaya, which belongs to the gods. Doubtless made on his orders and in his own lifetime, it shows Tudhaliyas standing on mountains as the gods do (Fig. 54a, b).

The second is another relief of him in gallery B. Besides these two there was originally also a statue of him in this part of the temple. Further, this king is seen wearing the conical and horned cap peculiar to the gods in a seal impression found at Ugarit (Ras Shamra). Since the reliefs and statue of Tudhaliyas at Yazılıkaya could not have been made by Arnuwandas III, whose reign was a time of collapse, it is understood that the deification of Tudhaliyas was done by himself. This Near Eastern type behavior of Tudhaliyas IV, who was the son of Hurrian mother, must be a sign showing that the Hittite Empire was nearing its end.

What We Know of Hittite Palace Life

Although it was bound to a constitutional monarchy whose kings were both devout towards the gods and respectful of human rights, the palace of Hattusha had a rich harem and concubines who were apparently beautiful.

From Sedat Alp's researches on the NAM.RA social class we see that those of great protocol standing who held various posts of authority were in positions resembling the high functionaries of the Ottoman palace. From a tablet of the Great Temple of which only half has come to light we learn that among a total of 208 persons, 18 were priests, 29 were women musicians, 19 were scribes for clay (tablets), 33 were scribes for wood (tablets), 35 were soothsayers and 10 were Hurrian singers.

The Hittite Queens

Another salient feature of Hittite social life is found in the high respect commanded by the wives of the kings. These were respectfully referred to by the title Tawannannas, that is Great Queen or Queen Mother. This title of respect they kept ever after the death of their

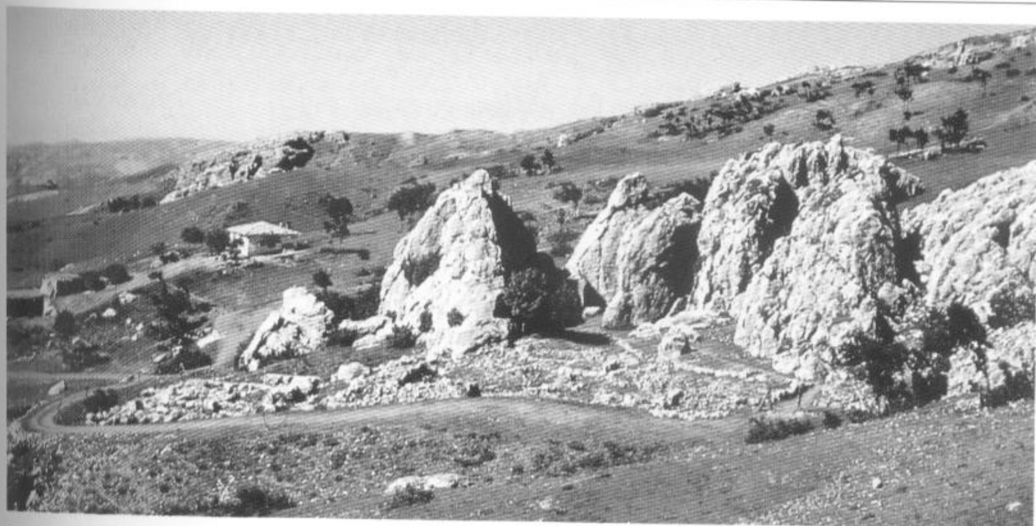


Fig. 51a Hattusha (Boğazköy). The Yazılıkaya open air sanctuary.



Fig. 51b Plan of Yazılıkaya.

a) The large rock gallery was probably made by Hattusilis III (1275 - 1250). It is decorated with the reliefs of 63 Hittite gods and goddesses. b) The small rock gallery was a sanctuary set apart for the royal family's cult of the dead. It must have been made in the reign of Tudhaliyas IV (1250 - 1220 BC). c) The monumental entry door to the temple (d) constructed by Hattusilis III. d) The temple itself. It may have been constructed by Hattusilis III. e) The entrance leading to the Small Gallery; it was probably made by Tudhaliyas IV. Related to the Small Gallery and named area C (not shown on the plan) is a third open air section that has been excavated in recent years. It is not yet known what the function of this room was. It has no reliefs.

husbands, that is, even during the period of the succeeding king's wife, until their own deaths. Thus the wife of the new king was able to become Tawannannas only upon the death of the former king's wife (see above, the sections on Arnuwandas, Mursilis II and Hattusilis III).

This law, which has no parallel elsewhere in the world, is as interesting as it is praiseworthy from the standpoint of conserving a right once it is earned. It was certainly advantageous that the old queen, with her great knowledge and experience, should be a model for the new king and queen and on occasion to be able to counterbalance them. But it is understood that some kings were ill at ease with this law. For example Hattusilis I refers to the Tawannannas of the previous reign as "that snake". It is also known that the existence of Mursilis II was poisoned by his stepmother, who was predominant with the title Tawannannas. In spite of this the law of the Tawannannas was in force without interruption for nearly 500 years.



The queens accompanied the kings in festivals and in libations, that is, in offering drink or the blood of sacrificed animals to the gods; their names were included even on the royal seals. For example we can cite the names of Arnuwandas I and of his wife, Asmunikal (Fig. 34), Suppiluliumas and his first wife, Hinti; Mursilis III (Urhi-Teshup) and his wife Danuhepa and Hattusilis III and his wife Puduhepa (Fig. 45). Asmunikal profited from her position as sole inheritor, through her mother, of the Old Kingdom; together with that of the king, she put her own seal on almost every document (see above, the section on Arnuwandas I).

The Most Powerful Tawannannas: Puduhepa

As for Puduhepa, she behaved excessively. On a seal impression from Ugarit only her name appears. Puduhepa had private correspondence with the queen of Egypt. A further example is provided by the famous treaty that Hattusilis III made with the Egyptian Pharaoh Ramesses II in 1269 BC. Just as on one side of the Hittite copy of this treaty, written in Akkadian on a silver tablet, the seal of Hattusilis III portrays him in the embrace of the god Sharruma, so on the other side Puduhepa's seal also shows her in the embrace of the goddess Hepat.

The Hurrian Puduhepa was so ambitious that it may well be she intended to represent the Hattusilis-Puduhepa-Tudhaliyas trio of father-mother-son in the Teshup-Hepat-Sharruma trio portrayed at Yazılıkaya (Fig. 53). As we have indicated in several places in our book, Puduhepa was truly a person of great authority, a very ambitious and powerful Tawannannas, a queen mother who brooked no opposition. The daughter of a priest of Hurrian origin, Puduhepa not only applied Hurrian names to the Hittite deities of the Yazılıkaya reliefs, she also took over the foreign policy of the state, as we have just now related. She also displayed her power in the relief at Fraktin, near Kayseri, where she makes a libation to a goddess, probably the Sun Goddess of Arinna, under her Hurrian name of Hepat. In Hittite art there is no other portrayal of a lone Tawannannas making an offering to a deity.

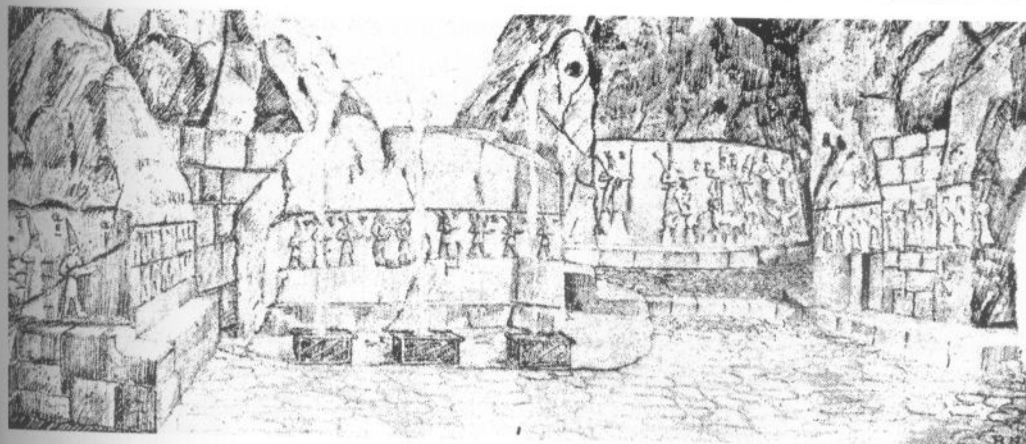


Fig. 51c The rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. General view of the Large Gallery. Made in the reign of Hattusilis III (1275 - 1250 BC), it depicts the Hittite pantheon of 63 deities and consists of 64 figures in relief.

The Nobles

We saw above when we examined the subject of kings that the nobles formed a council called the Pankus and that together with the king they decided upon many national problems in this assembly. Thus, as we showed above, the Hittite Empire has a peerless place in human history as the earliest constitutional monarchy on earth.

The nobles had lands given by the state. In return they were responsible for providing the royal army with horse-drawn chariots and necessary weapons.

Hittite Religion

The federal organization of the Hittite state obliged it to act with tolerance in religious atters. The Hittites made use of syncretism, a method we later see in the Hellene and oman periods. That is, they combined the foreign religions. Thus, with a recounciliatory proach, they found a way to achieve unity in the world of belief.

In their tablets the Hittites frequently make mention of "the thousand gods of the Land Hatti". If one considers the long lists of deities in their texts, this expression is hardly an ggeration. Truly in the period of the Great Kingdom an extreme polytheism prevailed, as again to be the case in Anatolia in Roman times. However though these gods had different epithets in each principality, they were essentially local variations of a few divine types. wise the types even of deities of Hattian, Luwian, Palaic, Hurrian and Mesopotamian ori- though known under different names, are parallel to each other. For example the Sky (Teshup) and goddesses such as Hepat and Ishtar presented different local types in regions, but these really originated from the same deities. This is revealed by expres- such as "all the sky gods", "all the Hepats" and "all the Ishtars" that occur in the texts.

This tolerant attitude allowed the Hittites to continue their domination over native peoples. That is, the religious policy followed a path based on tolerance and the interests of the kingdom. But this pragmatic approach in the end led to the Hurrianization of the Hittite religion in the reign of Hattusilis III (1275 - 1250). As Emanuel Laroche has proved, the deities of the Yazılıkaya open - air sanctuary in fact bear Hurrian names (Fig. 51-59).

The Storm God

The chief deity of the Hittites was the storm God (Fig. 53). Together with the principal goddess he was the main unifying force of the federated Hittite State. The native Hattian and Hurrian folk and the Indo-European Hittites who migrated to Anatolia all worshipped him. In the texts his name was written with the ideogram of the Mesopotamian sky god, Adad. The word *siu* in the Hittite texts is the equivalent of the Greek Zeus and the Latin Deus. But this was not the name of a specific deity, rather, it was used as in Latin to mean simply "god".

The Hattians called the storm god Taru and the Hurrians called him Teshup. According to Sedat Alp, the Hittite hieroglyphic signs are to be pronounced *Tarhu, Tarhuna* or *Tarhunt* (*Belleten* XVIII, 70, p 460 n. 39).

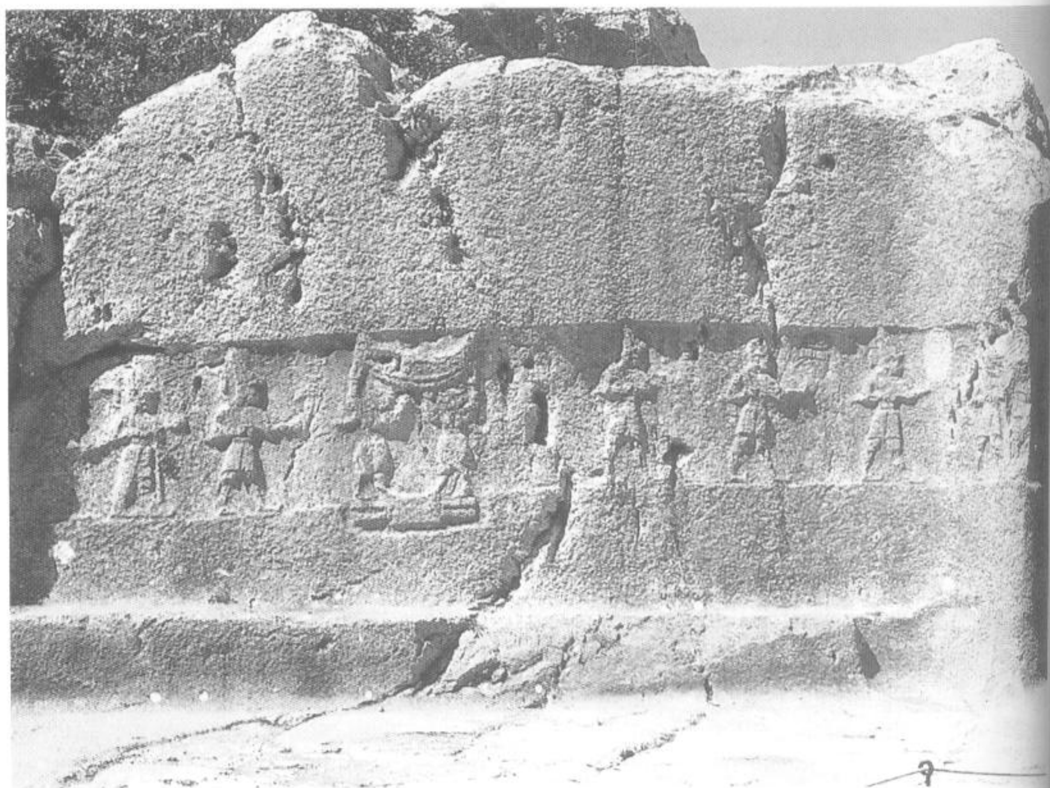


Fig. 52a Yazılıkaya. Gallery A.

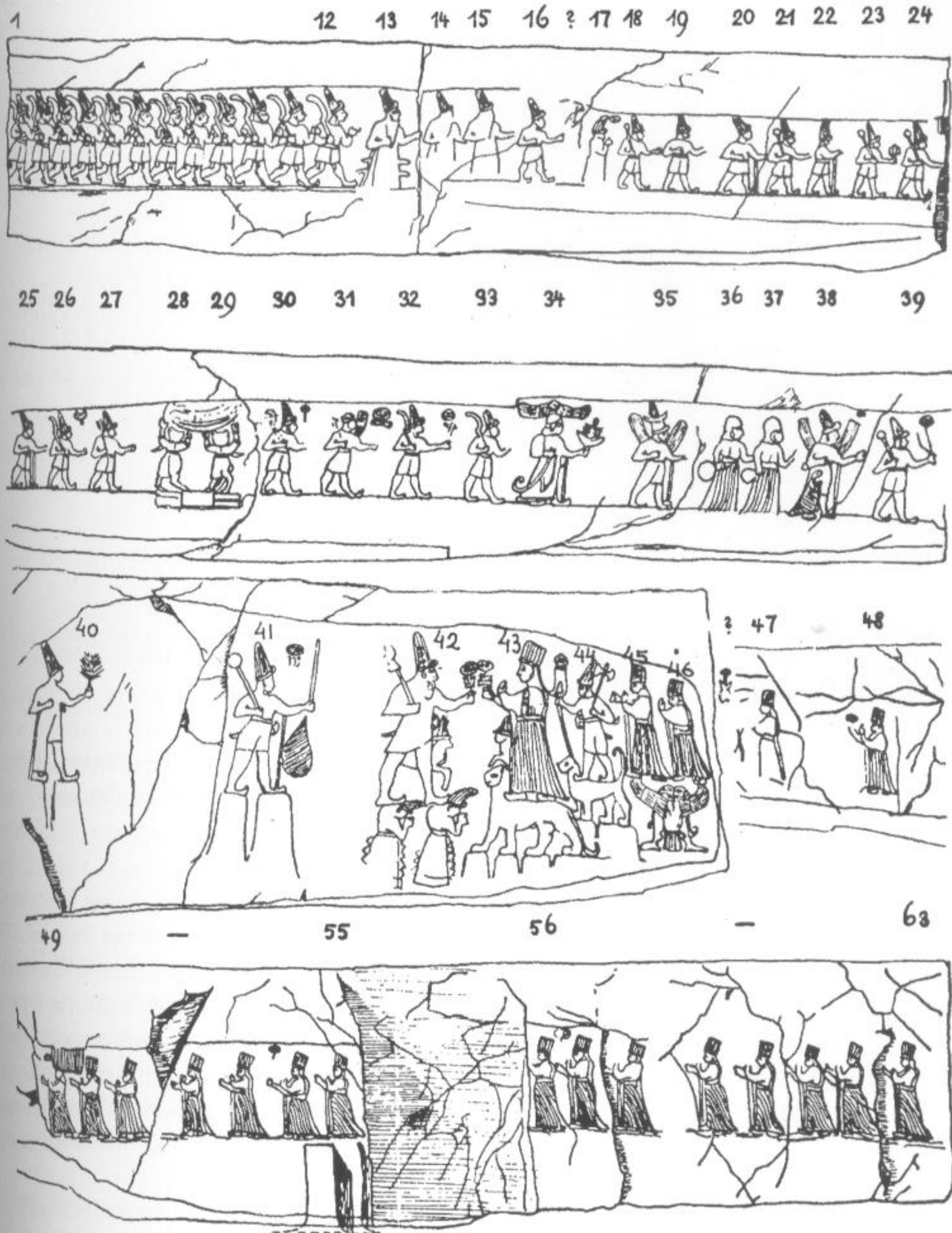


Fig. 52b The rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. The sixty-three figures of deities are a summarized view of the Hittite pantheon's "thousand gods" (according to Charles Texier). The gods (1 - 42) are lined up on the west side of the gallery, the goddesses (43 - 63) on the eastern portion.



Fig. 53a The open air sanctuary of Yazılıkaya at Hattusha. The scene of the principal deities in section A (Fig. 53b). 14th century BC. A plaster cast now in the Berlin Museum.

In the Hittite texts the chief deity was generally referred to as "the Storm God of the Land of Hatti", "the God of the Sky", "the God of Hattusha" or "the God of the Palace". The names "Sky God of the Army" and "the Sky God of Rain" are also encountered. The hieroglyphic sign for this deity consists of an ellipse divided into two. First this sign was written and then, if one wished to express "sky god", beneath it was added the thunderbolt sign in the form of a W; the two signs together gave sky god. At the same time this meant the Sky God of the Land of Hatti, as we have seen in the principal deity at Yazılıkaya. When the sky god of Hattusha or of some other place was meant, it was necessary to write a third sign under the other two.

In textual descriptions and in works of art the Sky God stands upon mountains. As we learn from their texts, the Hittites considered mountains to be sacred and paid worship to them. The mountain names of Hazzi and Namni that the Hittites took from the Hurrians were closely related to the sky god. Hazzi was the name of a mountain near the place where the Orontes (Asi) River reaches the sea; it was the *Mons Cassius* of the Romans. The location of Namni has not been identified.

Tudhaliyas, Arnuwandas and Ammuna were mountain names of Hattian origin; as we have seen above these names were also given to kings. In a description of the deity that appears in a Hittite text, the sky god stands upon two male figures who themselves are mountain gods. We see exactly the same portrayal in the main scene at Yazılıkaya (Fig. 53). If one looks at the garments of these mountain gods one sees that they consist of triangles (peaks) shown frontally and from the side. The Sky God of Hattusha behind the principal deity and also the deified King Tudhaliyas (Fig. 54) also stand upon such peaks. The figure that we see in the cartouche of King Tudhaliyas is the same as the mountains upon which the chief god stands and here is the equivalent of the king's own name. When the Hittites looked at the hieroglyph they understood that a king who took his name from a mountain was depicted and when they saw the sign "T" in the form of a boot. they understood that the king was Tudhaliyas.

The most important symbol of the sky god was the bull. In the Middle Bronze Age the bull himself was the sky god. The Hattian religion believed in gods in the shape of humans rather than in theriomorphic or zoomorphic deities, that is, gods in the shape of animals. When, under Hattian influence, the Hittites passed to the cult of anthropomorphic gods they depicted each deity in human form together with his equivalent in animal shape in order to convey what deity was meant. However it attracts the attention that in Hittite texts and artwork the sky god does not stand upon a bull. This probably indicates that in central Anatolia the bull represented by himself the god of the sky. In a relief at Alacahöyük (Fig. 82a) the great king and his queen pay homage both to a fetish in the shape of an altar (*Huwasi* Stone) and to the image of a bull. Thus even in this relief made in the 14th century BC the worship of fetishes and also the later cult of gods in animal form continued. Likewise at Yazılıkaya the bulls Hurri (Night) and Seri (Day) whose origin lies in Hurrian religion, take their place beside the two greatest male and female deities (Fig. 53). The pair of bulls found on the Büyükkale citadel at Boğazköy (Fig. 71) were doubtless objects of worship. As the German excavators noted, all the pieces of these two ceramic bulls, somehow broken before they were buried, were carefully placed together in the earth. The same pair of bulls, that is, the Hurri and Seri of Hurrian origin, are harnessed to the chariot of the sky god in the Imamkulu relief (Fig. 90). If one considers the great importance of bulls in a society whose whole livelihood is bound to agriculture, it is significant that they were the object of worship in the Hittite period. Only three generations ago, in a time when tractors had not yet taken the place of ox-drawn plows, the Anatolian peasant still took oath upon his ox, his most important possession.

The Principal Goddess

The custom of worshipping a female deity was widespread in Anatolia already in the New Stone Age. In fact in that period the chief deity was a goddess. We see that the same belief continues in later periods. Goddesses known as "Wurusemu" to the Hattians, "Hepat" to the Hurrians, "the Sun Goddess of Arinna" to the Hittites, "Kubaba" to the Neo-Hittites and "Kybele" to the Hellenes and Romans continued the Anatolian tradition that we recognize from the Neolithic Age.



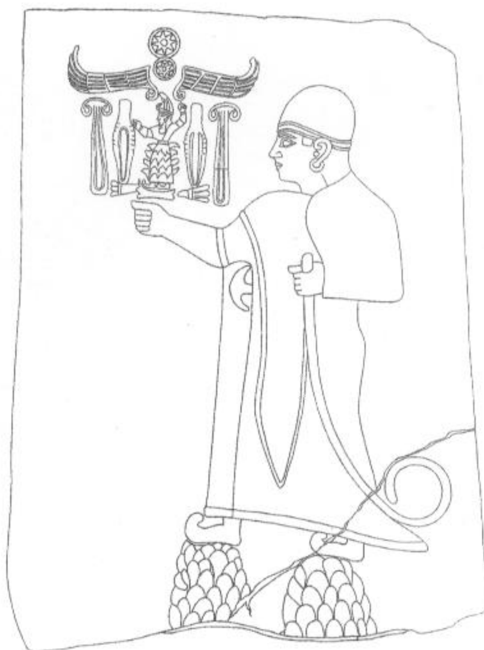
Fig. 53b The main scene in the Yazılıkaya sanctuary. From left to right: the Sky God of Hattusha; in front of him, standing on two mountain gods, is the Sky God of the Land of Hatti (Hittite); opposite him, standing upon a panther, is the Sun Goddess of Arinna; behind her is the God Sharruma; behind him, the identity of the two goddesses standing on a double headed eagle has not been established.

In religious texts and sacrifice lists, the Sun Goddess of Arinna and Hepat, whom we know to be of Hurrian origin, appear as separate deities. But there is no doubt that at least in the reign of Tudhaliyas IV the two were identical, having the same epithets and characteristics. In one text they are related thus: "The Sun Goddess of Arinna, my Lady, queen of all countries. In the Land of Hatti you bear the name of Sun Goddess of Arinna, in the Land of Cedar (trees) your name is Hepat." At Yazılıkaya her name in hieroglyphs is Hepat (Fig. 53). At the top the ellipse divided in the center means deity. The two signs at the bottom give the sounds *pa* and *tu*, as we have already learned from the seal of Queen Puduhepa. The second sign fro the top is read as *he* or *ha*. But in this relief Hepat is also the consort of the sky god, principal deity of the Land of Hatti. In the Hurrian religion Hepat was already the wife of Teshup. Thus the sacred couple seen at Yazılıkaya are deities who serve the same function in both the Hittite and Hurrian religions. It is interesting that the name of Hepat is written just so in the hieroglyphs, while her husband is referred to not as Teshup but with the Hittites hieroglyphs for "Sky God". Though almost all the Hittites gods had been "Hurrianized", it was a nicety to refrain from writing the name of the principal deity as the Hurrian Teshup. It would seem that to do this would have been going too far and for that reason they contented themselves with writing only the hieroglyphic signs for sky god. Thus one could call the god either by his Hittite or his Hurrian name, according to preference.

Fig. 54a



Fig. 54a The open air sanctuary of Yazılıkaya at Hattusha. In section A King Tudhaliyas IV (1250 - 1220 BC) stands upon sacred mountains like a god (Fig. 49).



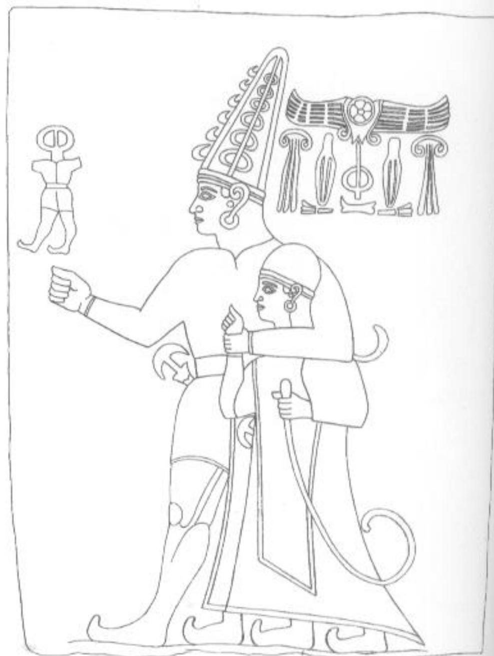


Fig. 54b Depiction of the deified Tudhaliyas IV. The largest relief in Gallery A.

Fig. 55a The scene showing King Tudhaliyas in the embrace of the God Sharruma (Gallery B).

At Yazılıkaya Hepat stands upon a panther. Yet in the descriptions of gods found in the Hittite texts, nowhere does one encounter the panther as the symbol of a deity. On the other hand, already in the Early Bronze Age, we see the great goddess seated between two panthers. In the texts, lions are symbols of various gods. The Hattian Sun Goddess of Arinna entered the Hittite pantheon together with her sons Nerik and Zippalanda, both sky gods, and also with her daughter Mezulla and her niece Zintuhi.

The Sacred Couple

The Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Sky God were a couple and in all depictions of them the husband is on the right while the wife is on the left (Fig. 53). As we learn from a text, the right side was the more important one for the Hittites, just as in modern protocol. We find the most attractive example of this Hittite custom in the Yazılıkaya reliefs. Here are depicted 63 deities (Fig. 52b), with the goddesses on the gods' left. That the goddess Ishtar and her two attendants are placed among the males is due to their warrior status. That the principal goddess' son, Sharruma, is seen behind her and among the females (Fig. 53) is due to another religious convention, as we shall see below. The interpretation that the



Fig. 55b The open air sanctuary of Yazılıkaya at Hattusha. The scene in Gallery B showing King Tudhaliyas IV (1250 - 1220 BC) in the embrace of the God Sharruma (Fig. 48, 55a).



Fig. 56 Ishtar followed by her attendants.
Ishtar was the principal goddess of Babylon. In Anatolia she was worshipped under the Hurrian name Shaushka. She was the sister of Teshup and was known as a goddess of law and war. Here she is seen in her War Goddess form together with her attendants Ninatta and Kulitta.



Fig. 57a Gallery B of Yazılıkaya. The twelve gods. Height of the figures: 131cm. 13th century BC.
A phalanx of twelve warrior gods.
*This Hittite work and the parade of eight warriors on the Nereid Monument of Lykia (*E. Akurgal, *Griechische und römische Kunst in der Türkei,* Pl. 107*) are two peerless works of ancient art history.*



Fig. 57b *The relief of the twelve gods in the small gallery is very well preserved. The deified Tudhaliyas is covered with a brownish yellow patina, as is also seen on the figures of Ninatta and Kulitta.*

goddesses "walk" from the right and that the gods "walk" from the left and "meet" in the center is incorrect. For the 63 deities here are actually standing side by side. Because Hittite art did not practice frontal depiction in reliefs, the subjects here are shown in profile. But the artist intends them to be posing in front of us with the two principal deities in the center. The Hittite observer conceived of them as facing himself. In all scenes containing a single figure the gods, goddesses and humans are also depicted in profile. Since there is no question of "meeting" in the scenes containing a single figure, it is meaningless to see a procession towards the center in the group of gods at Yazılıkaya.

Thus, having established that the deities are in fact facing us, it is seen that the Sky God is on the right and his consort is on the left. In our book *Späthethitische Bildkunst* we have traced this rule of protocol, first seen among the Hittites, throughout history and established that it continued in Anatolia until the Roman Period. For example on the Maraş (pronounced Marash) Stele, which is a late Hittite relief and a frontal portrayal, the woman is placed on the man's left. Likewise the depictions of couples on the funeral reliefs of Afyonkarahisar, carved in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD; because these were portrayed frontally we see that here truly the woman is placed on the left and the man is on the right. The Hittite protocol under consideration passed to the Hellenes (Fig. 230), and also was taken to Europe by Roman soldiers carrying the reliefs of Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno and later it became a rule observed there by kings. As we have seen, the last Shah of Iran placed his consort on his left in ceremonies. The former English king also had his queen seated not on his right but on his left on ceremonial occasions.

The Divine Trio

In the central scene of the Yazılıkaya reliefs (Fig. 53) is seen, behind Hepat, a god standing upon a panther; according to Güterbock's interpretation the headless human figure above this deity's right hand is the son of Hepat, Sharruma, who is known from texts. The ellipse divided in the center is the sign for deity. There are two pairs of lines placed between the ellipse and the half torso; these, as we know from the seal of Suppiluliumas, form the hieroglyph giving the sound *ma.* Thus it emerges that this god standing upon a panther is Sharruma. This has an interesting consequence. For with this god the mother and father and son in the central scene form a divine family. In other words we observe in this scene the oldest holy family in the world, an image recalling the Christian trio of Joseph, Jesus and Mother Mary.

The trio of gods evokes other thoughts. In his autobiography Hattusilis III relates that his wife was the daughter of a priest named Pentipsarri of the Hurrian Land of Lawazantias. Puduhepa herself, her name derived from that of Hepat, played a major role in bringing the Hurrian religion to the Land of Hatti. For this reason the trio of gods gives the impression that it also portrays the trio of Hattusilis, Puduhepa and Tudhaliyas IV. The Hittites considered that a king was deified only after his death. In the texts the expression "he became a god", that is, he was deified, was used in place of "the king died". That a king should be considered a god during his lifetime was in contradiction to Hittite belief; it was a custom of the oriental world. However it is possible that under eastern influence such an attitude was adopted by the Hittites in the latter period of the Great Kingdom (see: the section on Tudhaliyas IV).

Other Deities

Among the 63 deities of Yazılıkaya, besides the Sky God, the Sun Goddess of Arinna and Sharruma, there were other deities (Fig. 56-59) of the pantheon of a thousand gods that is mentioned by the texts. Ishtar, the great goddess of Babylon, was also worshipped in Anatolia. Her Hurrian name was Shaushka and she was known as a deity of both love and war. It was because of her latter nature that she was placed among the male deities at Yazılıkaya, together with her Hurrian attendants, Ninatta and Kulitta (Fig. 56).

The Hittites had another solar deity besides the Sun Goddess of Arinna. His Hittite name was Istanu and came from the Estan of the Hattians. According to the hieroglyphic ideograms he was described as "the Sun God of the Sky".

The Hittite moon god Arma came from the Hattian moon goddess called Kasku. His Hurrian name was Kusu.

Some of the deities seen in works of art are not encountered in the written sources. An example is the group of twelve gods, which survived in Anatolia until the Roman period (B. Freyer-Schauenburg, "Die Lykischen Zwölfgötter-Reliefs", *Asia Minor Studien,* Bd 13, 1944).



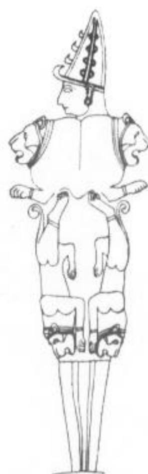


Fig. 58 *A winged lion-man is depicted on both sides of the entrance leading to the small gallery. Not shown on the plan, these figures had an apotropaic function as guardians of the burial chamber devoted to the cult of the king.*

Fig. 59a *Until today a satisfactory explanation of the religious significance of the Sword God has not been possible. On this subject now see:* Kurt Bittel, *Akurgal'a Armağan,* Ankara 1987, pp. 21 - 28.

Hittite Mythology

Like their religion, the mythology of the Hittites was greatly influenced by Hattian and Hurrian elements; it was also inspired by Mesopotamian sources. The legend of the combat between the Sky God Telipinu and the dragon Illuyankas is of Hattian origin (Fig. 103). In contrast, the epics of the Sky Kingdom and Ullikummi are of Hurrian origin.

Two versions of the Telipinu myth have been found. The earlier one relates that the Sky God, at first defeated by Illuyankas, finally triumphs over the dragon with the help of the Hattian goddess Inaras. Having promised her love to a mortal named Hupasiyas in return for his help, she eats and drinks with Illuyankas and makes him drunk. As the dragon lies senseless, Hupasiyas comes and binds the monster firmly with a rope. Then the Sky God comes with other gods and kills the dragon.

The later version of the legend is thus: the dragon Illuyankas does battle with the Sky God and, besting him, makes off with his eyes and heart. To avenge himself upon the dragon the Sky God marries the daughter of a mortal named Arm and has a son by her. When the son is grown he marries the daughter of the dragon and takes back his father's eyes and heart. Thus restored, the Sky God goes to kill the dragon, but his son is there too. His son shouts: "Kill me also!" So the Sky God kills his son together with Illuyankas. In a relief that came to light at Malatya is portrayed the slaying of Illuyankas by the Sky God.



Fig. 59b The Sword God.

The myth of Illuyankas passed from the Hittites into Hellene mythology. In the tale of the battle between Zeus and Typhon we find the main elements of the Illuyankas legend. In the Hellene version, Typhon takes from Zeus not his eyes and heart but his arms, legs and muscles. It is the god Hermes who retrieves them as a woman named Aigipan distracts the dragon's daughter, who had been keeping watch for him. That the story came from Anatolia is revealed by the place names. In the Hellene version Typhon lives in the Corycian Cave, near Mersin. The Mount Cassius that is mentioned is near Antakya. Depictions of the slaying of the Hydra which are found in Hellene artwork come from Hittite examples such as that seen in the above-mentioned Malatya relief.

The legend of the "Kingdom of the Sky", which the Hittites adopted from the Hurrians, is very important. In this is related the *theogonia,* or battle of the gods, which later passed into Hellene culture. According to this tale there were three gods who preceded the Sky God: Alalu, Anu and Kumarbi. Anu was the sky god of the Babylonians. Alalu is his predecessor. The Hurrian god Kumarbi is the equivalent of Enlil of the Sumerians. Kumarbi attacks Anu, the previous Sky God, and tears off Anu's sexual organ with his mouth. About to swallow his sperm, he spits it out, for Anu has told him: "don't rejoice that you have swallowed my manhood. For it will leave you pregnant with three hideous gods. Then you will strike your head against the rocks". According to the legend it is the earth which conceives from the sperm that Kumarbi spits out. The rest of the legend is not well preserved on the cuneiform tablet. However it is understood that it relates the creation of the Sky God and of the other gods. On other tablets it is written that Teshup succeeded to Kumarbi.

As is known, Hesiod treats of a similar theme in the *Theogonia.* According to him, Uranos, Kronos and Zeus were successively the God of the Sky. In Hesiod's version, Kronos takes a sickle and cuts off the sexual organ of his father Uranos as he is making love to his wife Gaia (the Earth Mother) and throws it into the sea. From the sperm of Uranos is born Aphrodite and from the drops of his blood, the Giants. This Hurrian legend of Kumarbi passed to Hellas in the 8th century BC.

For the influences of Hittite culture on the Hellenes, see: Ekrem Akurgal, *The Birth of Greek Art,* London, 1961, pp. 162 - 173. For Hittite religion and mythology and various cultural subjects pertaining to the Hittites, see: Ali Dinçol, "Hititler" *Anadolu Uygarlıkları, Görsel Ansiklopedisi I,* pp. 11 - 137. We especially recommend the very useful interpretations he presents in this publication.

Hittite Art

The art of the Hittites is generally not of the same quality as that seen in the civilizations of Egypt, Sumer, Babylon and Crete. But in some branches the Hittites were, as we shall see, in a position to rival Egypt and Mesopotamia. Since they saw in art an important propaganda vehicle for political power, they attached importance to it and created works of originality. So much so that the most successful aspect of the Hittite civilization was its art.

Architecture

Monumental architectural works whose lower portions were of Cyclopic masonry began in Anatolia with the Hittites of the Old Kingdom period. It is interesting that their fortification walls were equipped with ambush attack stairways (Fig. 61) and underground tunnels (Fig. 63). Thus their fortification walls (Fig. 61), basically defensive structures, at the same time acquired attack and ambush trap characteristics (Fig. 62). With these features and its strong Cyclopic masonry, the city wall of Hattusha is without equal in the ancient world. At Boğazköy, Büyükkale was a very well protected hill on which were located the Hittite state buildings, the reception halls and the state archives, a records deposit containing thousands of tablets (Fig. 64). This citadel, which commanded the city at Boğazköy and the all of the plain below has no parallel in the whole contemporary oriental world. Built on a long, wide hill with steep slopes on two sides, the city of Hattusha, with its seven large temples, nearly two dozen smaller ones and the above-mentioned interesting fortification walls, was in its day one of the most splendid capitals of the whole world.

Like its contemporary, Troy VI, and also Hellenistic Pergamon (E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey,* Fig. 24), Büyükkale presents a city plan in the form of concentric circles.

The large temples are asymmetrical (*Ibid.*, Fig. 138). The column was unknown in Hittite architecture; in its place were used square pillars. In the outer face of the Great Temple (Temple No. 1 Fig. 65a-c) there were large windows throughout the whole length of the building's outer wall. That they were thus placed on the exterior was a custom unknown to the oriental world, which was closed to the outside. The rooms in the Great Temple in which were located the statues of the sky god and his consort received light from three sides from these large windows. Thus even these enclosed spaces were full of light, as was the open air sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (Fig. 51, 52). This characteristic must be proof of the fact that Hittites, like the Hellenes, first worshipped outdoors.

Here we have touched upon a few interesting peculiarities of Hittite architecture. More detailed information is provided in E. Akurgal, *Hatti ve Hitit Uygarlıkları.* On the subject of Hittite architecture we recommend the worthwhile studies of 1) Muhibbe Darga, *Hitit Mimarlığı: Arkeolojik ve Filolojik Veriler*, Istanbul 1985 and 2) Rudolf Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens*, 1971.

Characteristics of Hittite Architectural Art

The most salient characteristic of Hittite architecture was its asymmetry; this was dominant in city planning as in religious and secular buildings. In other words, structures were not bound to any geometric principal such as arrangement in a series, but rather followed a natural development like that we see in Hellene constructions or in English and Turkish gardens. For example, just as in temples and other structures one half of the facade does not match the other half, so also among the sections of buildings areas do not repeat

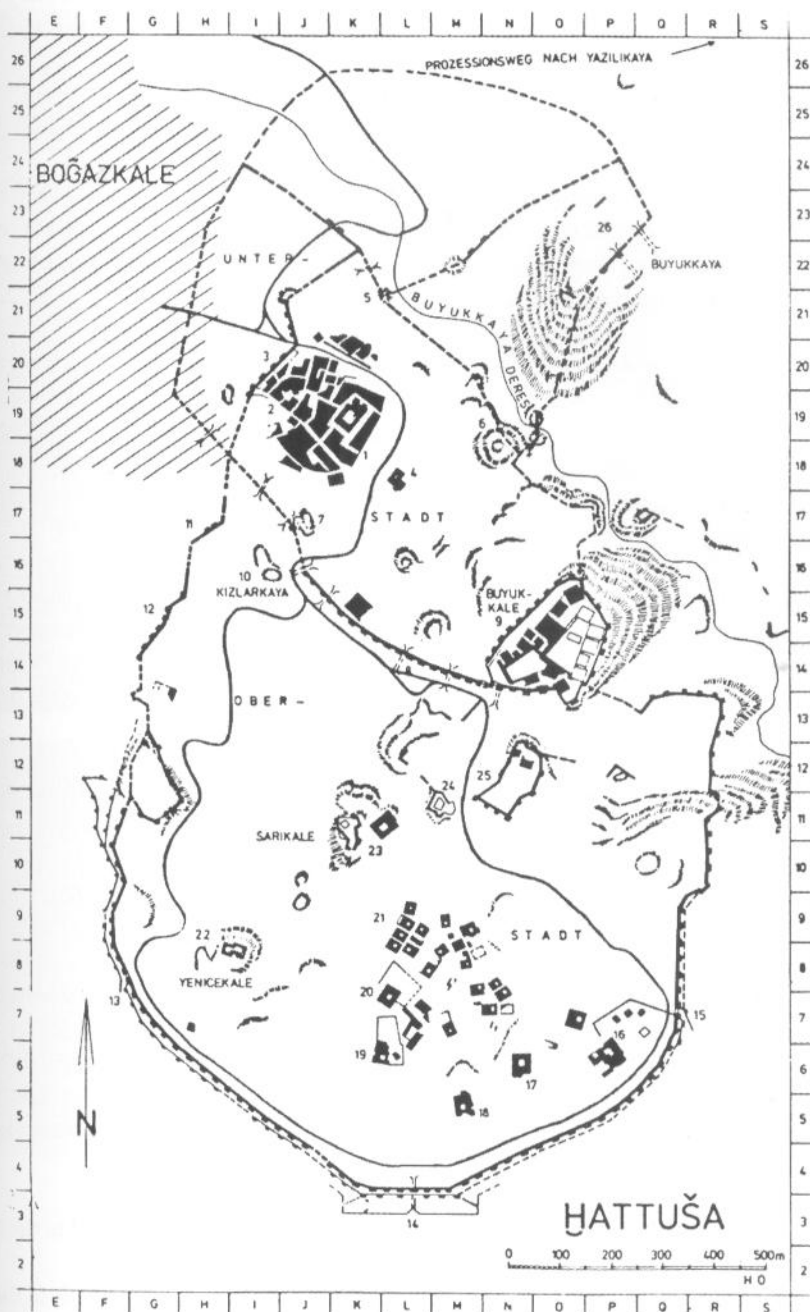


Fig. 60 Plan of Boğazköy (Hattusha).
Since the king and the foremost nobles lived on Büyükkale, this area was comletely occupied by sacred structures. The priests lived in the houses set apart for them and conducted religious ceremonies by day or night.

1) The Karum. A settlement from the period of Hattush (19th - 18th century BC).
2) The temple of the Hattian Sky (Weather) god and of the Sun goddess of Arinna (Fig. 64).
3) The acropolis of Hattusha, Büyükkale (Fig. 64).
4) The South Fort. 13th century BC. These ruins of a Hittite fort have an imposing appearance.
5) West of the modern road is a hieroglyphic inscription written on a rock. Height: 8.5m. It is considerably weathered, but beginning from the upper right hand corner one can read: "The Great King Suppiluliumas, son of the Great King Tudhaliyas and grandson of the Great King Hattusilis".

Because there were two monarchs that fitted this description, it is difficult to understand which king is meant here.

6) The King's Gate (early 14th century BC). The figure in high relief on the inner side of the gate is now preserved in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (Fig. 84, 85). The one in the site is a copy.

The interesting outer side of the King's Gate is quite well preserved. The door posts are high monoliths of andesite. Conforming to the Hittite architectural character, they form a pointed arch. The city walls are made of Cyclopic type masonry, that is, they are built of roughly finished very large stone blocks. The height of the stone walls reaches 6m; above, the upper portion of the walls was of mud brick.

7 - 10) Temples dated to the 13th century BC. They were constructed in conformance with the classical Hittite religious building type (Fig. 65). There is a central courtyard and an adyton in which the cult statue was kept.
11) Yerkapı, the Postern Gate, also known as the Sphinx Gate (Fig. 68).
12) The Lion Gate (Fig. 62). Early 14th century BC.

Like the King's gate it is built in the form of a pointed arch. The upper portion has been destroyed in modern times. The outer (western) faces of the doorposts are both decorated with the head and three quarters of the body of a lion. The animal on the right is nearly intact and is a valuable example of large scale Hittite sculpture. Like the apotropaic dogs mentioned in Hittite texts, these lions with their open and menacing jaws were placed here to frighten off evil spirits

13) In the Yenicekale Fort are seen well preserved Hittite walls dated to the 13th century BC.
14) The Sarıkale Fort has beautifully made Hittite walls which go back to the 13th century BC. The other walls inside the fort are made of small stones and were repaired in the Phrygian period. In recent years Dr. Peter Neve has uncovered three new large temples and below them (to the north) more than three dozen small temples.

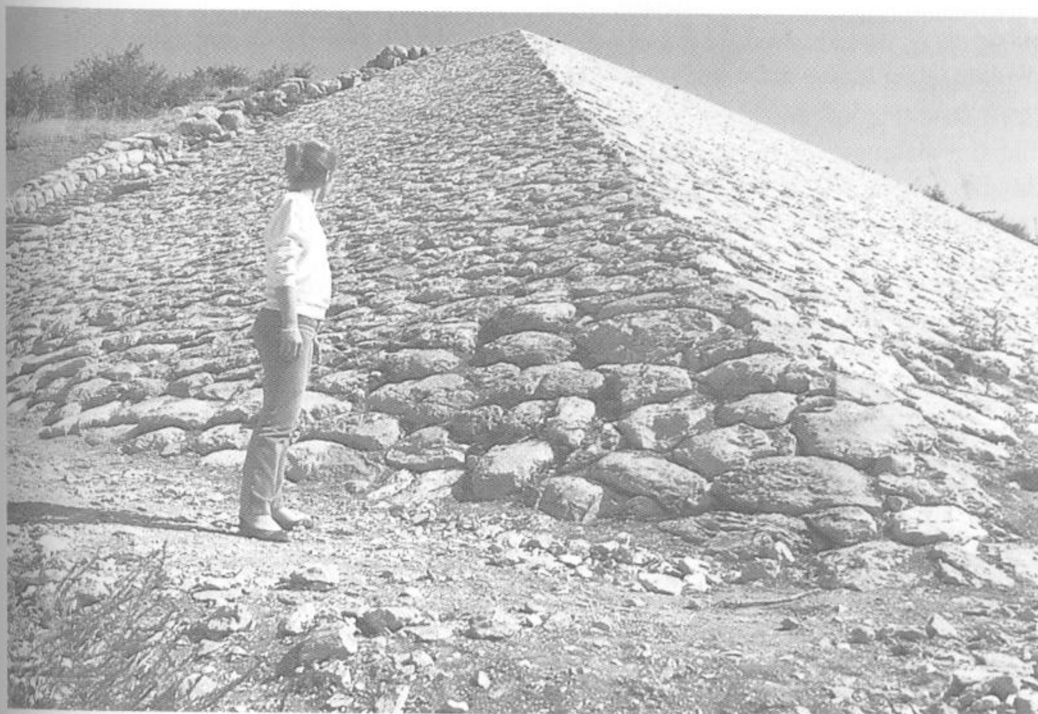






Fig. 61a-c The southern city walls of Hattusha after the restoration carried out by Peter Neve.

mirror each other. In other words there is in Hittite architecture not the rational and geometric shape or order invented by man, but rather an organic development such as we see in the natural world. We observe pronounced forms of this architectural characteristic at Büyükkale (Fig. 64) and in the Great Temple (Fig. 65a-c) at Hattusha. One must at once note that the symmetrical entrances to the main structure in the Great Temple and also to Building E (Fig. 64) on Büyükkale are both of Hurrian origin; they are of the structural type known as *Bit Hilani.*

The contours of Hittite buildings, the external lines that give shape to the structure (Fig. 65a, b) present an appearance which today we mistakenly term "shapeless".

As in many Hittite structures, the storerooms surrounding all four sides of the courtyard of the Great Temple and buildings A and H on Büyükkale are very narrow. This is not a style characteristic but a technical necessity. These long and narrow rooms form a kind of foundation, assuming the function of vaulted corridors in Roman architecture.

The asymmetry of Hittite architecture is also seen in Crete as well as in Troy VI (E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, Fig. 14) and on the acropoleis of Athens and Pergamon. Even in the geometric orderliness of Hippodamic city plans, for example those of cities like Miletos and Priene, though the streets meet at right angles, buildings such as temples, theaters and gymnasia never show symmetry.



Fig. 62 Hattusha (Boğazköy). The Lion Gate. The southeastern entrance of the city walls. Imperial Period, 1460 - 1200 BC.

It is interesting that English and Turkish gardens have the same fundamental character as Hittite architecture. Essentially Turkish architecture also is of an asymmetrical nature like that of Hittite and Hellene works. The *külliye* (a building complex providing social and religious services) of the Seljuks and Ottomans and the area of the Topkapı Palace clearly show Hittite and Hellene ground plan characteristics.

Sculptural Art

Sculpture had great meaning and importance in Hittite art, for the statues of the deities were the holy symbols of their country. As we saw above in the section on "Preparation for War with Egypt", when the Great King Muwatallis moved the capital from Hattusha to Dattassa, near Adana, he took the statues of the gods there too, for he feared that while he was occupied with the Egyptian war the Kaska folk would take Hattusha and capture these cult statues.

Statues of Gods

It is known that the statue of the Sky God was placed in the right-hand large chamber on the north side of the courtyard of the Great Temple (Fig. 65a-c) at Boğazköy. That the chamber next to it on the west must have contained the statue of the chief goddess was first established by the writer of these lines (E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens,* München, 1961 p. 68). Apart from these two statues there were certainly others, but we do not know where they were placed. In contrast, reliefs of deities were discovered in large numbers, as we shall see below.

Statues of Lugal Gal

The Hittites took the terms for king and great king from the Sumerian language: *Lu* = man, *Gal* = great, Lugal = great man, *Lugal Gal* = Great King. Doubtless there were many examples of statues of *Lugal Gal.* But none of these have survived to our day. Only a pedestal thought to belong to the statue of Tudhaliyas in Gallery B of Yazılıkaya has been preserved.

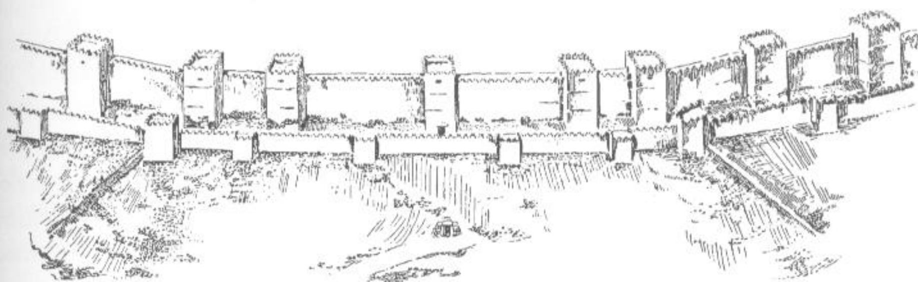


Fig. 63a Yerkapı. Boğazköy. The central portion of the southern fortification walls, the Sphinx Gate and the Great Postern. Early 14th century BC.

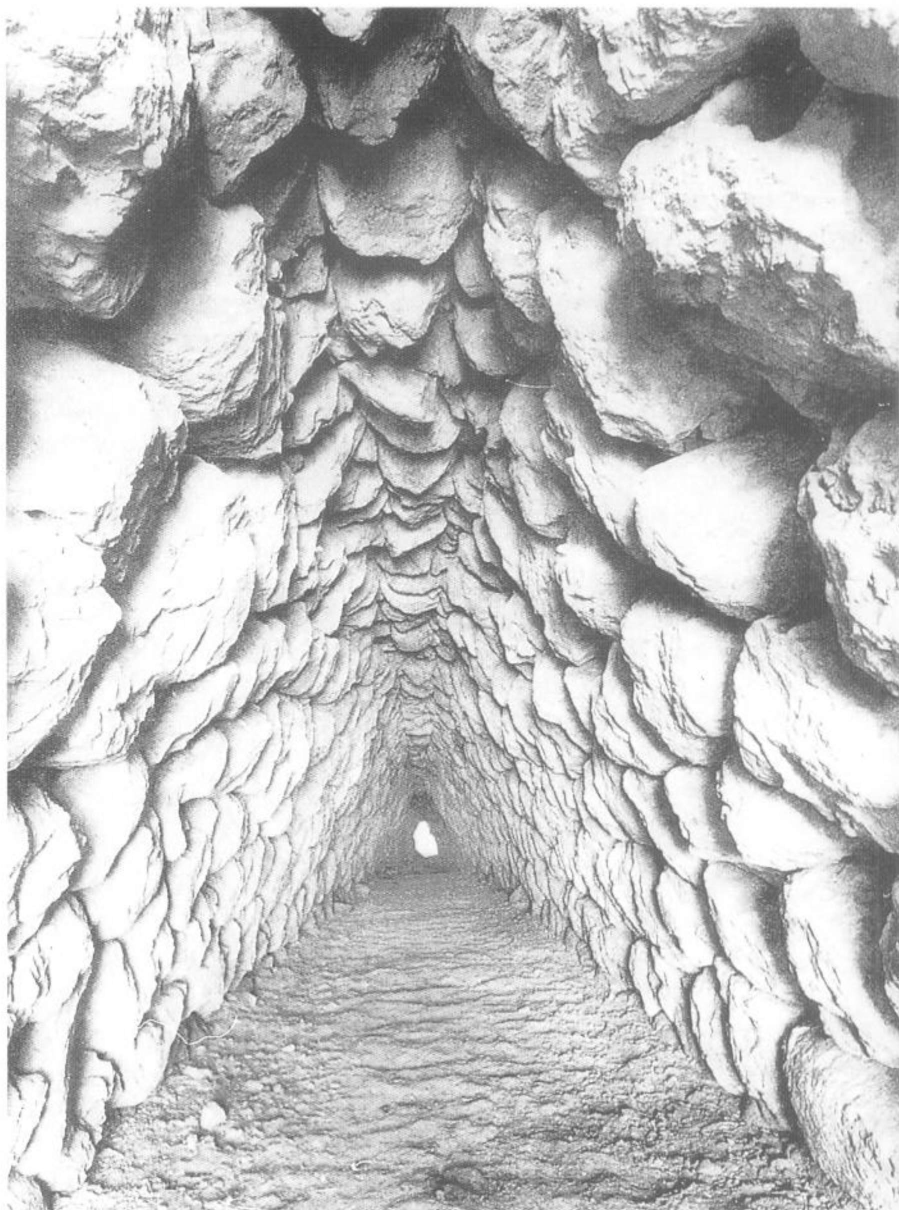


Fig. 63b *This postern, located at Boğazköy underneath the Sphinx gate, is a 70m long tunnel used for sallies against the enemy. The very large stones of Cyclopic type have been used to build a corbelled arch. Tunnels like this were also used at Boğazköy in the Old Kingdom Period. They were unknown in Anatolia before the Hittites. In contrast, tunnels made of Cyclopic masonry were used in Mycenaean art.* (Sp. Marinatos, *Kreta, Thera und das Mykenische Hellas,* München 1973, Fig. 174). *We are indebted to the Hittites for the first example of the pointed arch, which has played a great role in the world's history of art.*

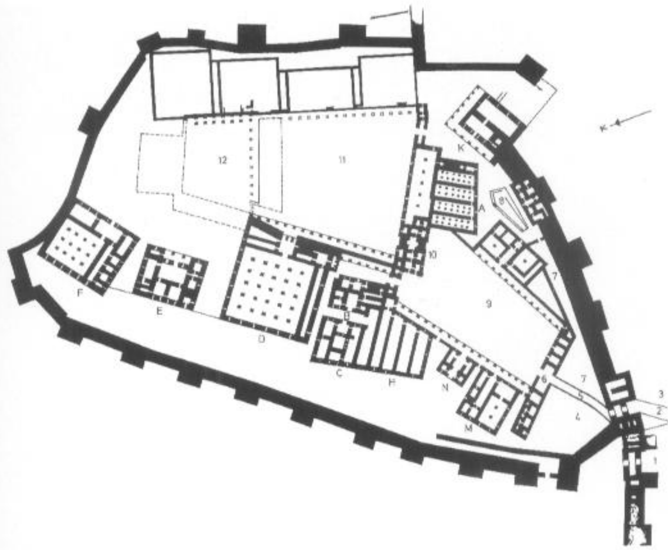


Fig. 64 A partially completed plan of Büyükkale. (According to Prof. Kurt Bittel, Büyükkale was the acropolis of Hattusha in the 14th and 13th centuries BC.)

Monumental statuary in Anatolia begins with the Hittites; the written sources frequently mention large statues. The sphinx statues that we see at Alacahöyük (Fig. 66a, b) and Boğazköy (Fig. 67, 68) are examples that have survived to the present.

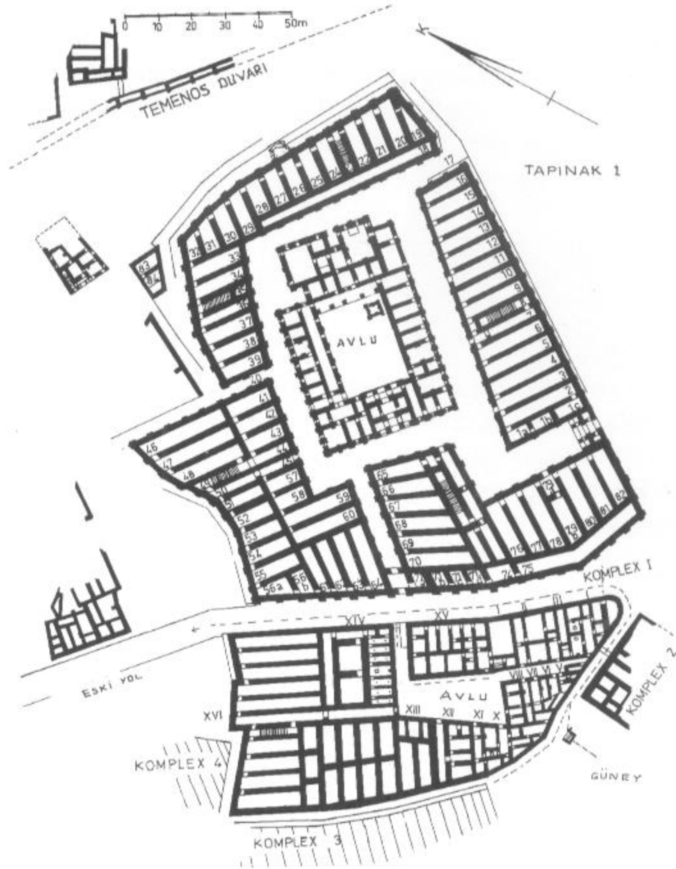
Hittite figurative art was at first mainly inspired by oriental models. The horned caps of the gods, the garments and especially the religious and mythological subjects display eastern influence. But in the period of the Great Kingdom Hittite figurative art found its own identity and acquired an admirable originality. A sculptural art particular to itself became dominant in Anatolia from Izmir to Antalya and even extended beyond the peninsula, becoming influential in Syria and Palestine. The pointed caps decorated with horns were developed under the influence of Babylonian art. In Hittite art they acquired a new meaning; the horns became a kind of badge of rank. On the conical caps of minor gods the horns are fewer; on the caps of major gods they are more numerous. For example Ishtar (Fig. 56) and each of the Twelve Gods (Fig. 57) have only one horn. The Sky God of Hattusha has six horns, all on the front of his cap. But the Sky God of Hatti has a total of eleven horns, six on the front of his cap and five on the back. The cap of the principal deity is further decorated with five of the ellipse shaped hieroglyphs indicating divinity. When Sharruma is by himself (Fig. 55) he has a more splendid cap. But in the presence of his father, from respect, he bears horns only on the front of his cap and is portrayed without the ideograms of divinity in the center (Fig. 53).

The Hittites adopted the sun symbol from the Egyptians (Fig. 67) but gave it a new shape and made it the principal symbol of royalty. The sun symbol meant "I, My Majesty, the



Fig. 65a Hattusha (Boğazköy). The temple of the Sky God and of the Sun Goddess of Arinna (The Great Temple). 14th - 13th century BC.

King". The rosette rays between the two wings (Fig. 49, 54, 55) we have also seen on the sun standards. The pose of the male and female figures is in a scheme particular to the Hittites. Whether or not they hold an object in their hands, gods and kings hold one arm forwards and somewhat diagonally (like the *Karagöz* figures in the Turkish shadow puppet theater), while the other arm is held parallel to the earth at breast level (Fig. 52-55). Goddesses and queens are depicted as holding one arm extended forward and bent upwards (Fig. 52, 53, 56). In all figures the hands are clenched as fists. When kings worship or pay homage they hold their two fists together at face level. We see this pose in a relief from Alacahöyük (Fig. 82b) and in the image of Warpalawas (Fig. 146). Details such as eyes, ears, noses and beards all generally seem to be made in the same mold. Gods and kings may be bearded or beardless but are never mustached.



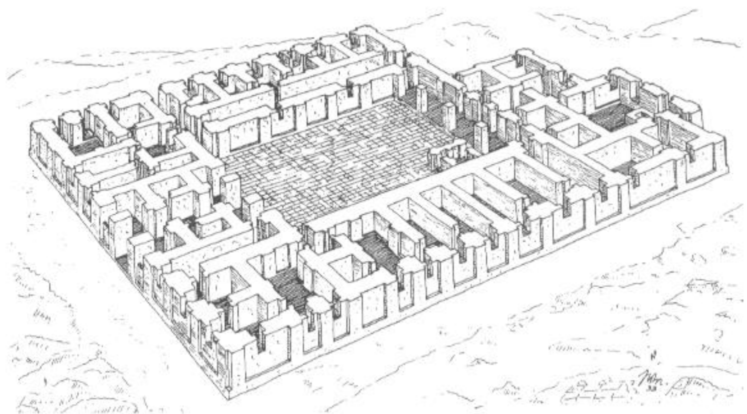


Fig. 65b, c The temple of the Weather (Sky) God of Hatti and the Sun Goddess of Arinna. 13th century BC. The drawing was done according to a plan made by P. Neve.

Though the iconography is, as we said, always true to the same model, differences in style strike the eye. For example the reliefs of Alacahöyük (Fig. 66, 82, 83), made in an earlier period, present a different style from those of Yazılıkaya (Fig. 53-59). The Fraktin relief and that at Gavurkale in Haymana also show a different style. The figures on the Bitik and Inandık Vases (Fig. 72-75), on silver vessels (Fig. 76-80) and various other metal objects (Fig. 93, 94) show a very high level of style and workmanship. These works are the finest products of the "Hittite Palace Style".

The Hittite figurative artworks that have come down to us were located in temples or in monuments erected by their kings. Thus the reliefs, statues and seals are products of a "palace art".

In the statues and reliefs we see three different human types, probably belonging to three distinct peoples: 1) In depictions of gods and royalty, especially in the Yazılıkaya reliefs we encounter heads with attractive faces and straight noses. 2) The Hattian type: In the Egyptian reliefs Hittite soldiers have large aquiline noses and receding foreheads (Fig. 8h, 41; Bossert, *Altanatolian*, Fig. 747 - 757). As we stated in the section on the Hattians we are of the opinion that these soldiers represent the type of the native Hattian people. 3) The hybrid type: wide, beautiful faces, with large but regular noses (Fig. 68, 72, 73). We think that this type resulted from the mixture of Hattians and Hittites. One still encounters people with these facial features in the area around Çorum and Yozgat.

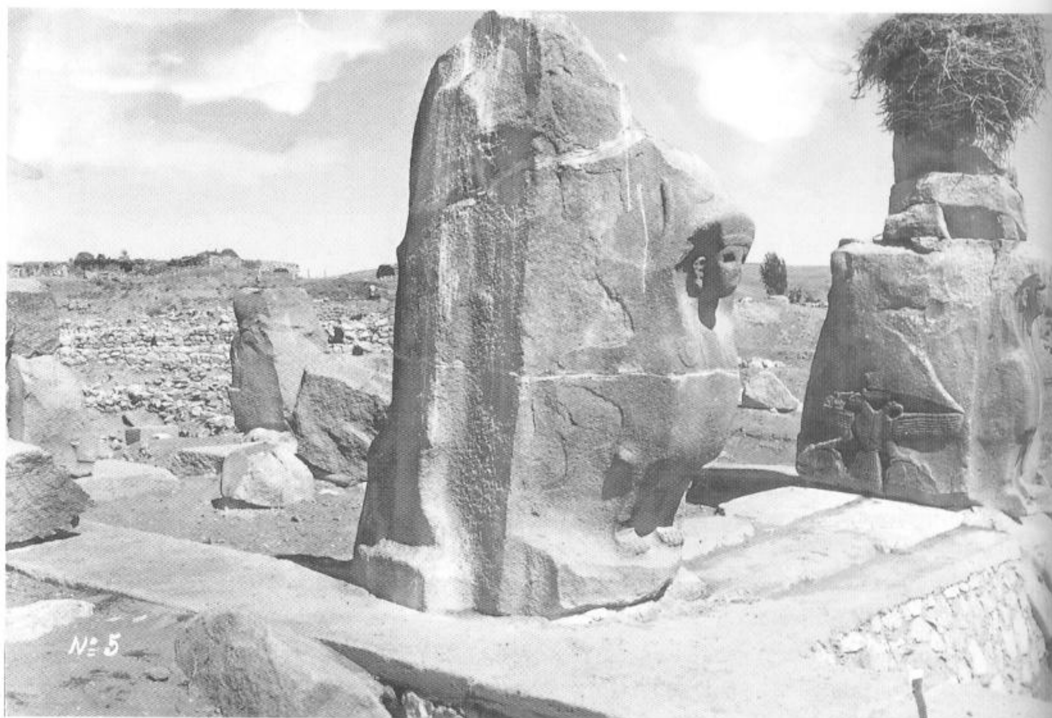


Fig. 66a Gate in the city wall of Alacahöyük. 15th - 14th century BC.





Fig. 66b Sphinx on the Alacahöyük city gate

Fig. 67 Sphinx on the Boğazköy city gate.

If one excepts the monuments at Eflatunpınar (Fig. 88), Fasıllar (Fig. 89.) Manisa and Yesemek, frontal portrayal is generally not practiced in Hittite reliefs; animal and human figures are always shown in profile. However as we related above one should think of the kings as being really portrayed frontally. The frontal depiction of the lion head in an Alacahöyük relief is not an achievement of Hittite art. This animal took its pose directly from an oriental model.

As was also done in contemporary Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Hittites depicted the human figures in their reliefs not as their eyes saw them but as their minds conceived them. Until the Hellenes invented naturalistic portrayal in the years 475 - 450 BC all peoples gave importance to expressing human appearance through ideal shapes rather than as the camera of today shows them. According to this concept the parts of the human body were shown from the aspect thought to most meaningful. The face is always in profile but the eye in this face is completely frontal. The chest and upper part of the torso are frontal, while the legs are again in profile. This method of depiction is not primitivity or lack of skill; quite the contrary it is a form of idealistic thinking. For where it was necessary or desired, as we see for example in the female figures at Yazılıkaya, it was possible to show the whole body in profile.

Sources: E. Akurgal, *Kunst der Hethiter*, 2nd edition, München 1976, pp. 58 - 59. This book also appeared in English *(The Art of the Hittites)* and Italian *(Arte degli Ittiti,* Firenze 1962).



Fig. 68a The head of a sphinx from the Sphinx Gate. From Hattusha (Boğazköy). 14th century BC. Istanbul Archaeology Museum.

Fig. 68b



Fig. 68b Profile view of the sphinx in Fíg. 68a. 14th century BC.





Fig. 69 Bronze statuette. From Boğazköy. 14th - 13th century BC. Berlin Museum.

Fig. 70 Bronze statuette. From Lattakya. 14th - 13th century BC. The Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 7



Fig. 71 Twin bulls of baked clay. Height: 1.90cm. From Boğazköy. Hittite Old Kingdom Period, 16th century BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

We saw the earliest example of twin bulls on the Hittite religious standard of the Hattian Period (Fig. 21). The team of bulls in question was harnessed to the chariot of the Sky God. In fact the two bulls here are also seen with straps of harness. The team of sacred bulls is of Hurrian origin and in Hittite texts they are called Hurri and Seri, or Day and Night. The Hittites were a people who lived by agriculture. For them the ox was an extremely important and sacred animal. In fact, up until the period of Atatürk the peasant of Anatolia made oaths upon his ox or his team of oxen.

The Twin Bulls That Draw the Chariot of the Sky God

In this section on plastic art it is worth while to mention two large terra cotta statuettes, the twin bulls Seri and Hurri (Fig. 71) that pull the chariot of the Sky God. We saw the earliest example of twin bulls on the Hittite sacred standard of the Hattian period. These twin bulls were harnessed to the chariot of the Sky God (Fig. 43, 76b). In fact the two bulls here are also shown with straps of harness. The pair of sacred bulls are of Hurrian origin and in Hittite texts they are mentioned by the names Hurri and Seri(s), *i.e.*, Day and Night. The Hittites were a people who lived by agriculture. For this reason the ox was an extremely valuable and sacred animal to them. Until the time of Atatürk, the Anatolian peasant still took oath upon his ox or on his team of oxen. (On the subject of the significance of the twin bulls, see the final paragraph of the section on the Sky God.)

Hittite Reliefs

Among the Hittites relief art was important as well as sculpture in the round. Dozens of splendid monumental reliefs, especially those cut from a rock face like the ones at Yazılıkaya, Eflatunpınar and Fraktin, constitute, as we have stated in various places in this book, the most important depictions in Anatolian history. Already in the 1600's BC is seen the decoration of vases with very beautiful relief figures. Splendid examples of these are the Bitik (Fig. 72, 73) and Inandık (Fig. 74, 75) vases.

The Bitik Vase

In the main scene on the Bitik Vase we see the earliest example in the world of a sacred marriage (*Hieros Gamos*) depiction (Fig. 72, 73). The groom opens the bride's veil and offers her drink from a cup. The sacred feast scene on the vase very probably is that of a noble couple, for example a prince and princess. But in Hittite religion the essential sacred marriage was that between the chief god and the Mother Goddess. Before the Hittites the Mother Goddess was supreme and male deities were in the background. When the Indo-European language speaking Hittites came to the peninsula this situation changed, for their chief deity was a god.

The Hittite lords and kings were also chief priests; following a rational policy they carried out a thorough reform in the area of religion, identifying many of the Hattian and Hurrian deities with their own gods. In the course of this the male Sky God (the Teshup of the Hurrians) married the Sun Goddess of Arinna, of Hurrian origin. However as a result of this marriage the Mother Goddess lost her supremacy.

As is seen on the Bitik vase and on other examples (Fig. 74, 75, 88, 122, 177), the man is placed on the right, known as the important position for the Hittites, while the woman is on the left. As we have shown in other books, this "Hittite Protocol", which places the man on the right and the woman on the left in a subordinate position, continued in Anatolia right up until the Roman Period. Together with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus it later passed to

Fig.

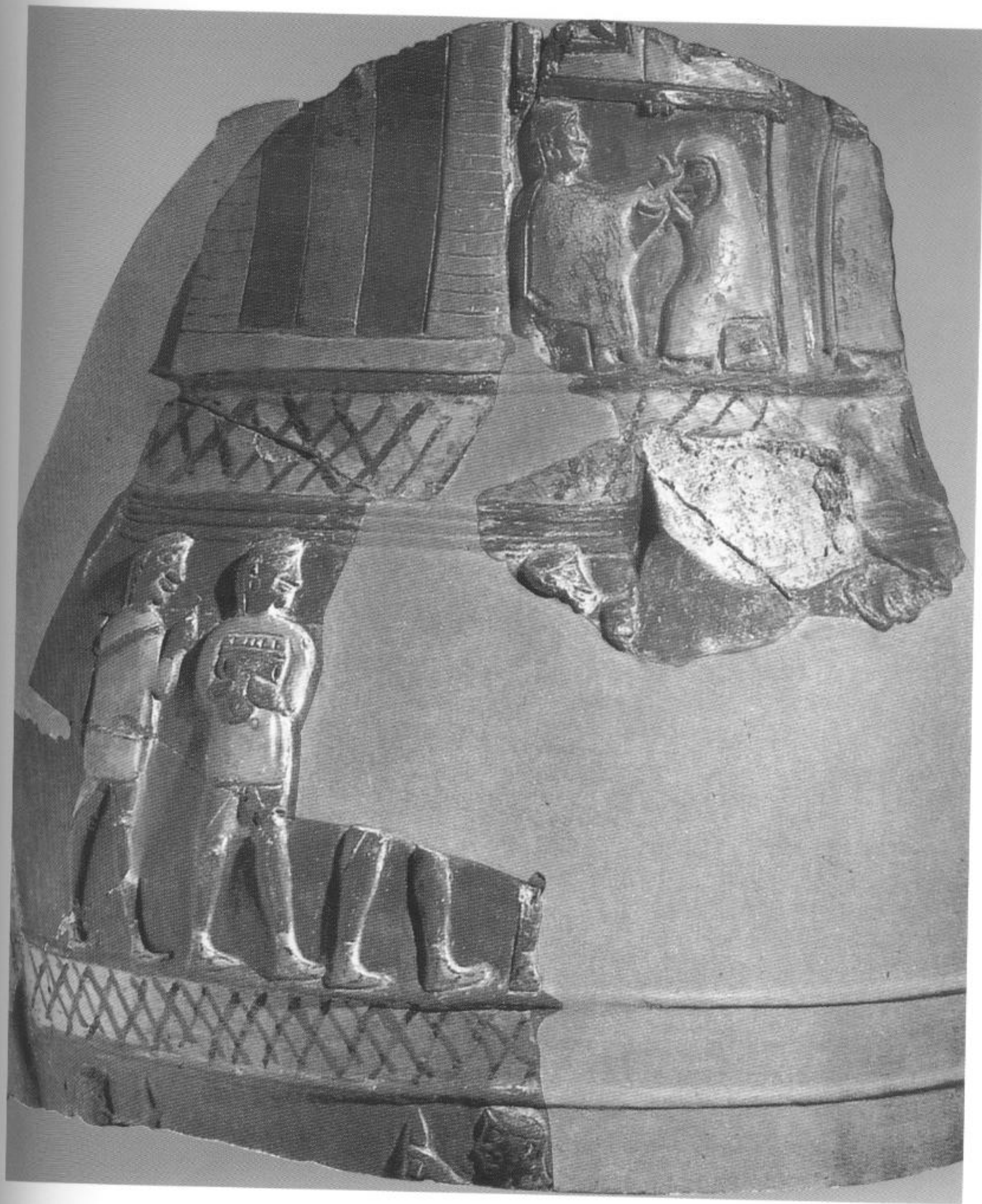


Fig. 72a The Bitik Vase. A vessel with relief decoration. Height: 36.5cm. A chance find from Bitik, in the region of Ankara. Hittite Old Kingdom Period, around 1600 BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

As is evident from the main scene and from the figures of musicians on this piece, the vase depicts a sacred marriage celebration.



Fig. 72b Detail of the Bitik Vase.
The earliest example in the world of a sacred marriage (Hieros Gamos) scene.

Europe and there it has survived to our own day. In fact, like the last Shah of Iran, Riza Pehlevi, and the most recent English king, Edward, the European kings of today place their consorts on their left on ceremonial occasions, in accordance with the ancient Hittite protocol.

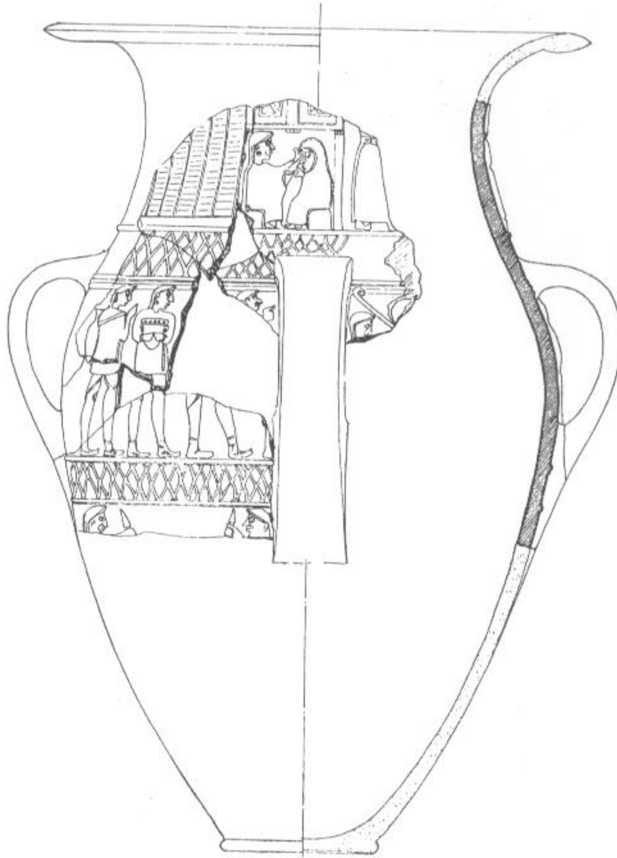


Fig 73 The Bitik Vase. From Bitik. Around 1600 BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. (See: W. Orthman, *Propyläen Kunst Geschichte*, p. 434, Fig. 139).

The Inandık Vase

Like the preceding Bitik Vase, the Inandık Vase is decorated with depictions of music and dance related to a marriage (Fig. 74, 75). There is also a pornographic scene showing sexual intercourse in a standing position (Fig. 75). The human faces on the Inandıktepe and Bitik vases and on the Alacahöyük reliefs show a different ethnic type from that which appears in the sculptural works of Boğazköy.

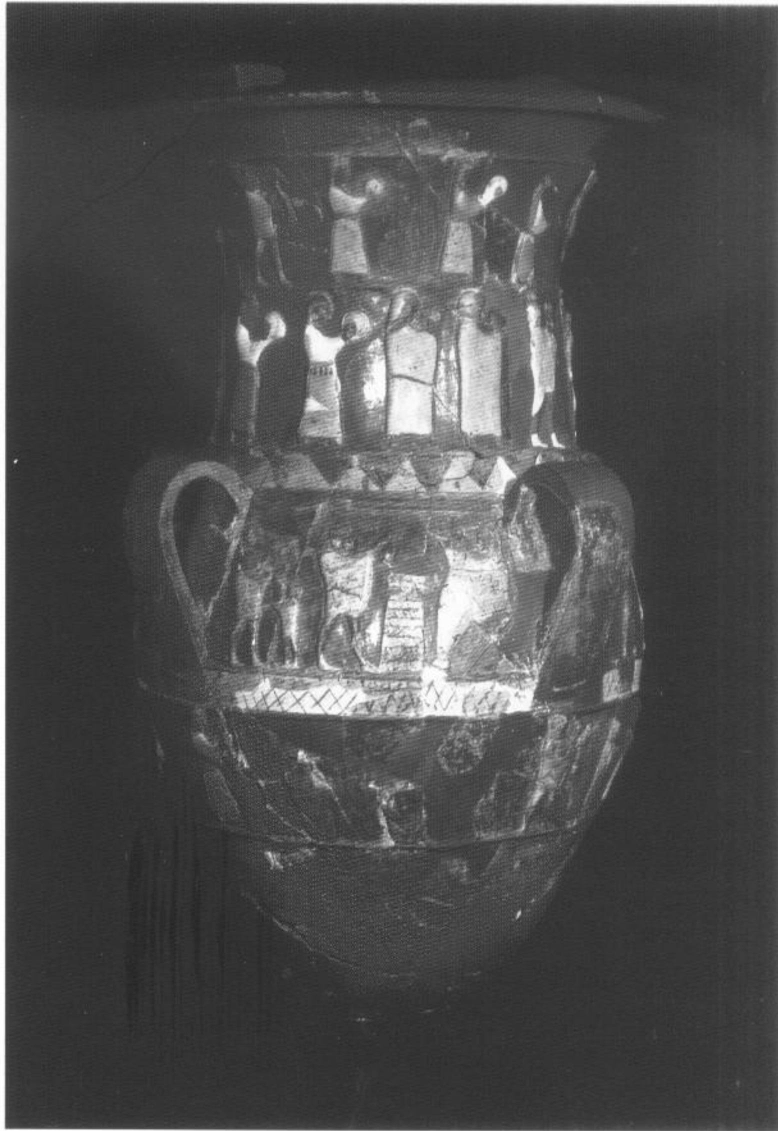


Fig. 74 The Inandık Vase. A vessel with relief decoration (Fig. 75a). Baked earth. Height: 82cm. A chance find from Inandıktepe in the province of Çankırı. Old Hittite Kingdom, around 1600 BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

Like the preceding Bitik Vase, the Inandık Vase is decorated with the depictions of music and dance relative to a marriage. It also includes a pornographic scene showing a standing couple having sexual intercourse (Fig. 75b). The human faces on the Inandık and Bitik (Fig. 72b) vases and on the Alacahöyük relief show an ethnic type different from that in the sculptural works of Boğazköy (Fig. 68b).

This vessel in the form of a fist is the only one of its kind. To worship
Hittites joined their clenched fists at face level. When one hand held an o
closed in a fist and held at chin level. But the gods also raised the empty
fist (Fig. 53-57).

The garments of the figures depicted on this fist-shaped vessel are
seen on the Alacahöyük orthostats (Fig. 82). The altar on the Boston vess
motif on the hip of the Storm God's bull are also like those in the Alacahö
83b). For this reason the Boston Museum's libation vessel is, like the wo
a product of the 14th century BC.

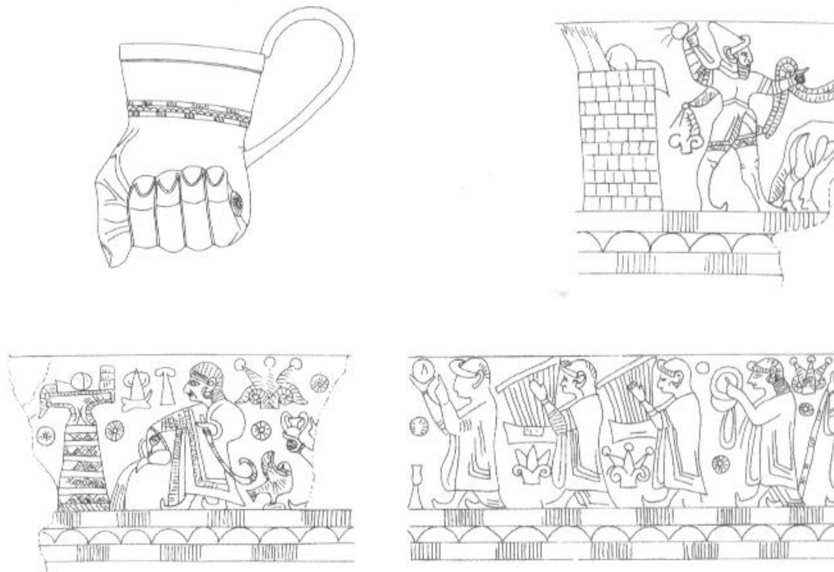


Fig. 76a-d A libation vessel in the form of a fist clenched in the gesture o
sacred liquid and bread are being offered to the Storm God of the
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (H. G. Güterbock - T. Kendall, "A
the Form of a Fist", *Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Verme*

Following the publication of the fist vase in the Boston Museum, the
band of decoration near the rim of a stag-shaped rhyton in the Metropol
fake gained in strength. If one looks with attention one sees that the hai
neck of the figures on this vessel is identical to that of three figures on
ton (Fig. 76). In contrast, the noses and the whole facial profiles of the
are very different. The palmettes that we see on the bull figure of the fis
on the deer of the Alacahöyük reliefs are not present on the deer figure
The conflicting stylistic details that we have just enumerated arouse susp
no such confusion in any of the hundreds of works considered in this
matter to the study of my colleagues.



A silver rhyton (libation vessel) in the form of a stag. Height: 18cm. From Anatolia. 14th century BC. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



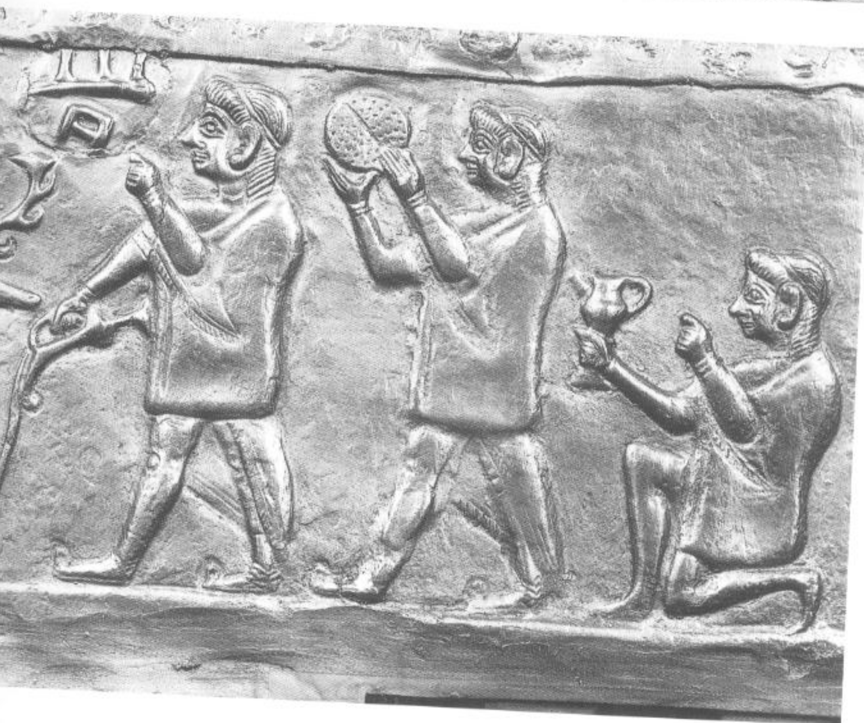
Fig. 78a Rim of the rhyton in the shape of a stag. (Photograph of a metal c
4.5cm wide frieze).
*The garments worn by the figures are identical to those seen on th
vases (Fig. 72-75). The beak-spouted vessel in the hand of the figu
resembles vases of the Old Kingdom period (Fig. 29-31). In c
standing on the back of a stag and holding in one hand a staff with
the other a bird is an element seen in late periods of Hittite art (Fig
say that the facial shapes are more like those produced in the 14th c
those of Old Kingdom works. As to the identity of the figures, Musc
deity seated on the left to be a goddess but Bittel and Alp, we thin
figure to be that of a god. The figure standing upon a stag is interpr
However he wears a cap and holds in one hand the staff with a cur
kalmush or lituus which is a symbol of royalty. Thus it seems more r
a figure is in fact that of a king deified either after death or
Concerning the second of the two standing figures, he must be play
Muscarella and Bittel have said. If he were carrying "votive bread",
one hand instead of two. According to these interpretations, we are
is correct to identify the relief on the silver rhyton as a scene of vo
form of the blood of sacrificial animals or of sacred drink, which is b
musical accompaniment, to a seated god and to a deified king stan*

A Silver Rhyton in the Form of a Stag

The photographs in Fig. 78-80 were taken from a metal cast of the r
They were given to me many years ago by Hans Jörg Kellner, direct
Frügeschichte Museum in Munich.

These photographs of a work whose original I had not yet seen a
impressed me. Truly the rhyton is the most beautiful of the Hittite a
appeared to this day. The quality of the workmanship of the figures is u
tional.





ontinuation of the scene in Fig. 78a.



Fig. 79 Continuation of Fig. 78a.

The garment of the seated deity is also seen on the figures
vases. In contrast, details such as eyes, ears, noses and cheek
and reliefs from Boğazköy. They appear however to be rathe
altar in front of the god resembles more the incense burner
encounter in Assyrian and Iranian reliefs.



Silver rhyton in the form of a stag. The 4.5cm wide frieze upon the rim. The order of the figures upon the stag-shaped vase (according to Sedat Alp).

etails such as the hair, eyes, noses and cheeks of these figures are rendered in a gly "naturalistic" manner. The altar in front of the seated god resembles the sort of urner on a stand that is seen in Assyrian and Iranian depictions. Additionally, while ents indicate the 16th century BC, the rendering of the faces and bodies recalls the ury BC. All these factors left me in doubt.

his reason I visited my colleague while he was director of the Vor-und chte Museum and asked him this question: "Is it proved that the silver of this rhy- oduct of antiquity?" That my colleague, Hans Jörg Kellner's answer was: "It's defi- ved" made me feel easier. In any case we are confronted here with the creation of eweler.

mentioned above in connection with the fist-shaped votive vessel, I refer to the y colleagues the question of whether the section decorating the edges of the stag- yton might be a fake.

es: Sedat Alp, "Einige weitere Bemerkungen zur Hirschförmigen Kultvase der chimmel Sammlung" *Festschrift für Pugliese Carratelli,* Firenze 1988, pp. 17 - 23; *ur Erforschung des hethitischen Temples,* 1983, pp. 93 -100; *Ancient Near Eastern* politan Museum of Art, 1984, pp. 1 - 55; Kurt Bittel, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis hethit- lkunst,* Heidelberg 1976, p. 8ff.; O. W. Muscarella, *Norbert Schimmel Collection,* 3; Muhibbe Darga, *Hitit Sanatı,* 1992, pp. 37 - 40.

nze Ceremonial Axe

emonial axe made of bronze (Fig. 81). In the center of the blade is a figure upon a lion. Its many-horned headdress indicates the Sky God, as in the ır monument (Fig. 88, 89) and the Imamkulu relief (Fig. 90). The sky god, that is, al deity, is carried by mountain gods as in the image at Yazılıkaya (Fig. 53), while sun, the sky symbol, is supported by genii as one sees at Eflatunpınar.



Fig. 81 A ceremonial axe. 14th century BC. Said to be in a privat
Hittites, Paris, 1976.)

n to top the figures depicted on the axe are: a mountain god, in the center a d standing on a lion and at the top two genii bearing the winged sun. A nent is seen at Eflatunpınar. For this reason it is understood that the many-nking god figure represents the Sky God as at Eflatunpınar. The sky god ls upon a single lion, as we see in an example at Malatya, or sometimes s as on the Fasıllar monument (Fig. 89). As for the winged sun, this here ky just as it does on the Eflatunpınar monument.

rga (*Hitit Sanatı*, p. 111) states that the figures on the axe are arranged as ınar monument, but suggests that the horned god is the god of the sun.

Reliefs

nt we have considered the reliefs decorating small works of art (Fig. 72 - iefly turn our attention to monumental reliefs, which are among the most s of Hittite art.

öyük Reliefs

onumental reliefs produced by Hittite sculptural art are in Alacahöyük hese were executed in the 14th century BC and display a style particular

ef Guarding the King's Gate at Boğazköy

guardian god on the inner side of the King's Gate at Boğazköy is one of onumental Hittite reliefs (Fig. 84, 85). Without any doubt it is a very suc-he 14th century BC.

King Muwatallis

d from a rock face at Sirkeli near Adana is at present the earliest depic-finitely identified king (Fig. 86).

al Reliefs of Yazılıkaya

in the open-air sanctuary called Yazılıkaya, near Boğazköy, were nt style of Hittite sculptural art. They were carved during the reigns of d King Tudhaliyas IV (Fig. 51-59).

ief

reign of Hattusilis, this work is contemporary with Yazılıkaya but dis-the stylistic standpoint (Fig. 87a-c).





Fig. 82a, b

a) Alacahöyük. The stone with reliefs to the left of the city ga
tury BC. The king together with his consort is paying homag
image of a bull symbolizing the Sky God. Museum of Anato

b) Alacahöyük. Relief on the city wall. Basalt. Height 117
Civilizations, Ankara.

*On the left a god; on the right a man respectfully worshippi
in the reliefs of Alacahöyük recall of the Bitik and Inandık
reliefs must have been made in the 15th or 14th century BC*





a) Alacahöyük. Relief on the city wall. Basalt. Height 133cm. The jugglers' scene. 15th-14th century BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

b) Alacahöyük. Relief on the city wall. Images of deer. 15th - 14th century BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

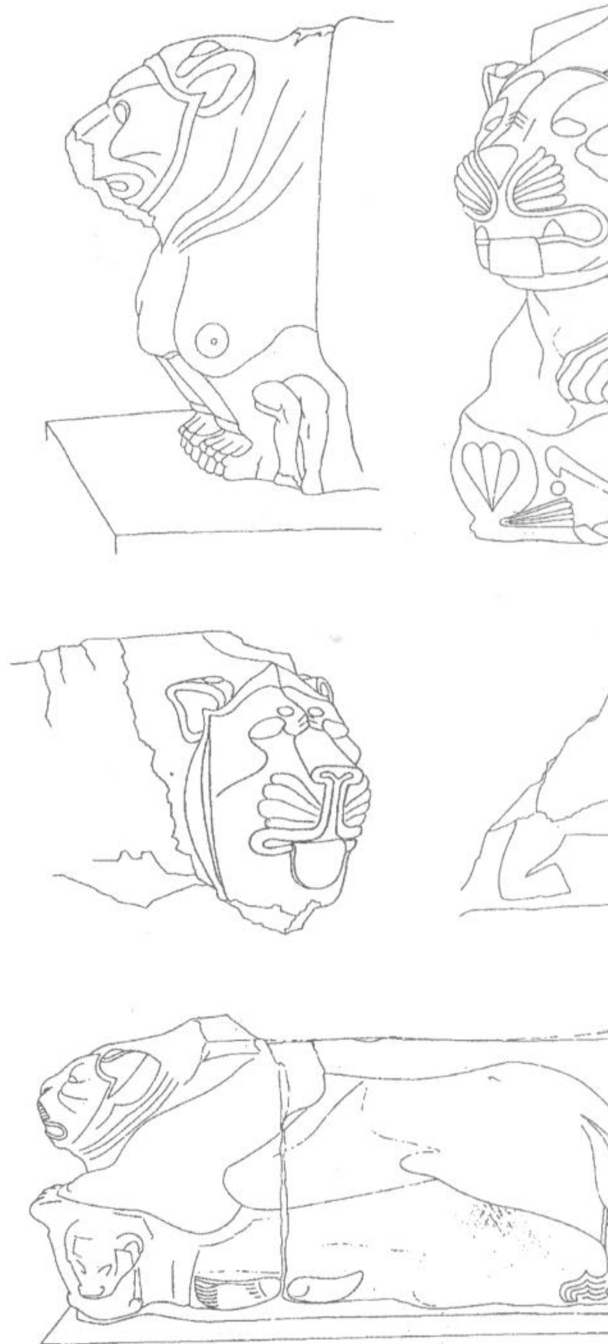


Fig. 83c Depictions of lions. Alacahöyük. 14th century BC.
Ankara.



attusha (Boğazköy). Relief of a god from the King's Gate. The height of the whole gure is 200cm. 14th century BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.



Fig. 85 The Hittite War God who once guarded the eastern gate of
Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.
This relief is dated to the early 14th century BC and is the best p
sured example of Hittite sculpture.



Depiction of King Muwatallis (1315 - 1282 BC) on the rock face at Sirkeli (region of Ceyhan). See: Fig. 40.

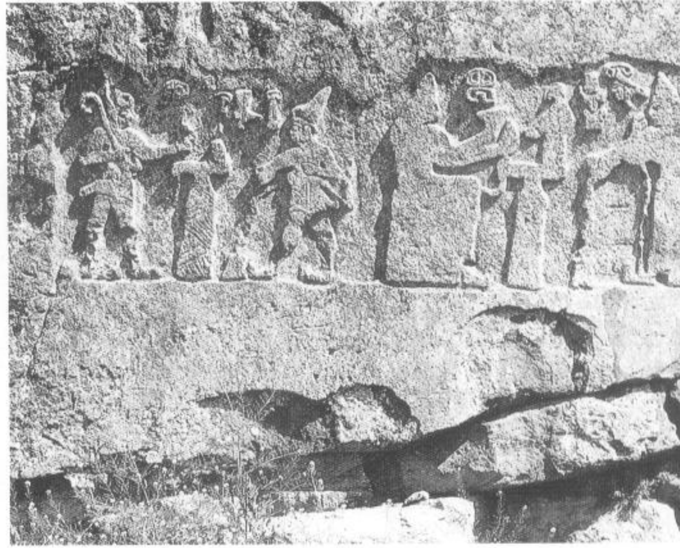




Fig. 87a Relief on a rock face at Fraktin: Hattusilis III (1275 - 1250 B
sky god while his wife, Puduhepa, does the same for the go
130cm. Width of scene: 326cm.

Fig. 87b Fraktin. View of the Hattusilis - Sky God scene only. (For th
name Hattusilis, see: Fig. 44). For the beautiful photograph
indebted to our colleague, Prof. Horst Ehringhaus.
*As we stated in the text section, the fact that in this scene t
both wear the same pointed cap with horns reveals that Ha*

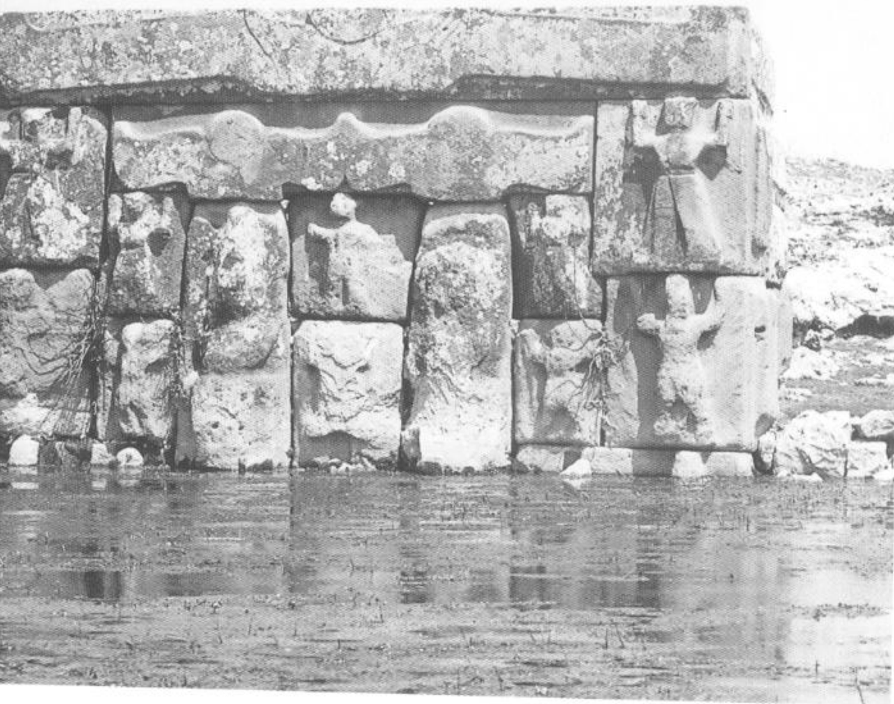


xtin. View of the Puduhepa - Hepat scene only. (For the hieroglyphs indicating the
e of Puduhepa, see: Fig. 45).

*fact that in this relief both the goddess and the queen wear the same headdress
ys how ambitious and pretentious Puduhepa was.*



Fig. 88a Eflatunpınar, a religious monument erected on the shore of
near Beyşehir. Height: 420cm. Width: 710cm. 13th century



latunpınar, a religious monument erected on the edge of a pond formed by a spring
ar Beyşehir. Height: 420cm. Width: 710cm. 13th century BC.

onuments expressing gratitude felt towards the water sources that bring plenty are: latunpınar; the place known as Area number 2 that was erected by Suppiluliumas II Boğazköy in front of an artificial pond he had made there (Peter Neve, Antike Welt, 92, Fig. 194 - 206); and the splendid rock relief of King Warpalawas next to a large ing at Ivriz. : The Eflatunpınar relief consists of 12 figures. At the center are the chief d and goddess and by their sides are 10 spirits bearing the winged sun. As Sedat Alp s shown, the pair of genii bearing the heavens, which at Yazılıkaya are shown side by e (Fig. 52), are here shown in a different composition, one above another.

an attractive interpretation, James Mellaart has united the monuments of Fasıllar and atunpınar.

cept for the Eflatunpınar, Fasıllar and Manisa-Akpınar monuments, frontal portrayal s not occur in Hittite art. These three examples came into being under the influ- e of Assyrian and Syrian works. Besides being in southeastern Anatolia, Ain Dara Yesemek are also quite late examples.

the Eflatunpınar monument, as on the Bitik vase (Fig. 72) and in the main scene at ılıkaya (Fig. 53), the god is shown on the left and the goddess on the right in con- nance with Hittite protocol.



Fig. 89 Eflatunpınar (near Beyşehir). The statues of the god and godde
to the Fasıllar monument, 50 km. away from Eflatunpınar.
This composition has been proposed by James Mellaart. (S.
Peoples of Anatolia, Fig. 74). We agree with his reconstruction.



Fig. 90 The Imamkulu relief (region of Kayseri). On the left a local king
God of the Sky and before him the Sun Goddess of Arinna ar
BC.



The Sky God of a region of Anatolia. Relief made of basalt. Height: 140cm. A chance find from Çağdın (Gaziantep). 14th - 13th century BC. Adana Museum.



Fig. 92 The rock face relief of Karabel (area of Kemalpaşa, Iz
Muhibbe Darga, *Hitit Sanatı*, Istanbul 1952 p. 183; J.
Boğazköy sealings and Karabel" *Anatolian Studies* 48, 19

Monumental Reliefs of Eflatunpınar and Fasıllar

s Mellaart has rightly combined the sculptures of Fasıllar (Fig. 89) and Eflatunpınar into a single monument. We agree with this identification. The special characteris- monuments is the frontal depiction of both human and animal figures. The Manisa relief is another example of frontal portrayal in the Imperial Age (E. Akurgal, *Hatti Uygarlıkları,* Pl. 63).

Imamkulu Reliefs

we are presenting the Imamkulu (Fig. 90) and Çağdın reliefs (Fig. 91), In these the 13th century BC a different style is seen. Other monumental works are those at e, Taşcı , Hemite, Hanyeri and Karabel (Fig. 92).

mental Art

g the beautiful works created by Hittite craftsmen, ornaments have an important us look at a few examples of these.

d Standing Upon a Stag

silver rhyton we have already seen the type of a god standing upon a stag and one hand the staff with a curved end and in the other a bird (Fig. 78, 80). On a ue of steatite we have seen a similar arrangement (Fig. 93).

ld Ornament

s continue the subject of Hittite ornamental art with an extremely precious gold .3cm. high (Fig. 94, 95). This lovely ornament of the 14th-13th century BC, origi- Anatolia, was at first part of the private collection of Norbert Schimmel. It is now ropolitan Museum of Art in New York. (Holly Pittman, *The Metropolitan Museum ypt and the Ancient Near East,* New York 1987, p. 123, Fig. 88a - c).

shape of the statuette's headdress recalls the sun, it is understood that the orna- cts the principal female deity, that is the Sun Goddess of Arinna. Also the presence on the lap of the figure is extremely appropriate to the Mother Goddess who has hipped in Anatolia throughout history. This valuable work, now in America, came Boğazköy outside the legal excavations. An example made of bronze was found at *k* in the course of the excavations there. (Fig. 78c; E. Akurgal, *Hatti ve Hitit rı,* Pl. 78d and H. Koşay, *Alacahöyük,* 1951, p. 127, Pl. 57 Fig. 10b).

ery interesting that the sun is shown in halo form in back of the head. This man- iction in fact recalls the haloes seen in back of the heads of Jesus, Mary and the hristian art.



Fig. 93 A god standing upon a stag. Relief plaque of steatite. He
Yeniköy (Çorum). 14th - 13th century BC. Museum of A



old ornament depicting the Mother Goddess with a child on her lap. Height: 4.3cm.
n - 13th century BC. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 95a, b Gold ornament. The principal female deity (the Sun Godde
view of the gold ornament in Fig. 94.

Two Ivory Ornaments

Lastly, let us take a look at two ivory ornaments (Fig. 96
Boğazköy and are two lovely examples of original creations of Hit
that was found in Temple No. 7 (Fig. 96) at Boğazköy is dressed
Lattakya which is now in the Louvre (Fig. 70). Thus it is underst
is from central Anatolia. In any case a bronze statuette from Boğa
the Berlin Museum (Fig. 69) and which displays the same facial t
bronze statuette said to be from Lattakya is a product of central



ory statuette from Boğazköy. Found in temple number 9. (Peter Neve, *Antike Welt,* 992, Fig. 82) 14th - 13th century BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

atuette of a Mountain God. Ivory. Height: 3.6cm. From Boğazköy. 14th - 13th century C. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.



Fig. 98 A sacred plaque. Bronze. On either side of a "tree of life", a
each standing on a bull, and carrying the winged sun,
Alacahöyük. 14th century BC. Museum of Anatolian Civilizat
The theme of the heavens carried by genii is also treated
Yazılıkaya, on a ceremonial axe (Fig. 81) and on the monu
88) and Imamkulu (Fig. 90).

Hittite Anthropological Type

tatuettes listed above are all very well preserved; for this reason the bodies, heads
of these human images are clearly visible. When we look at these and at statues
one we see that nearly all of them have the same body and facial structure: they
t stature and have wide, full faces with rather large noses. As we stated above in
on sculptural art, it is interesting that today we frequently encounter people of
otion in central Anatolia.

artworks that display the Hittite facial type are as follows: the Bitik Vase, the
se, the silver rhyton in the form of a stag, the relief-decorated vessel in the form
sculpted reliefs at Boğazköy, and the reliefs of Yazılıkaya and Alacahöyük. In the
Period the relevant works are: the reliefs on the city wall at Aslantepe, the reliefs
nd the Chimera at Carchemish, the Keben Kaya relief at Silifke and the religious
latya-Aslantepe.

uman faces in these works are the most frequently encountered type among the
natolia. Many of the foremost personalities in the political life of today's Turkey
ype to an astonishing degree. Doubtless the Hittites were not the ancestors of
s. But the Turks are their spiritual grandchildren. We can understand this from
many Hittite usages and customs - things such as ornaments, garments and the
col which places the man on the right and the woman on the right - have sur-
resent day.

ottery

lity works of first rank were produced in Anatolian ceramic art in the Late
that is, the 7th and 6th millennia, as is shown by the finds from Çatalhöyük.
lcolithic Age, the fifth millennium BC, vases of almost monumental size and
g decoration were brought to light at Hacılar; they are creations of the first
world of that time.

pottery experienced a period of decline from the end of the Chalcolithic Age
f the 3rd millennium. In the Hattian period (2500 - 2000 BC) the potters' art
vitality with vessels imitating gold, silver and bronze models and in the
Feudal Period (2000 - 1700 BC) it reached a very brilliant level.

mic art is essentially a continuation of the preceding Feudal Period (2000 -
y. Here are a few examples:

k-spouted vessels were a product of the Early Bronze Age. In the Hattian
an to develop and in the Hattian-Hittite Feudal Period they reached their
ese beak-spouted vessels were transformed by Hittite potters into new and
es.

2 - Hattian-Hittite Age figurines of animal shape in the image of
and the bull and generally used as rhyta, that is, ritual vessels, bec
the Hittite Period. They reached proportions that can only be des

3 - In Hattian-Hittite feudal art vessels decorated with relief
animals were much prized. Among the Hittites they acquired a ne
the relief decorated vases brought to light at Bitik and Inandık are
of Near Eastern art.

With the characteristics indicated above the Hittites take a dist
tory of Antiquity. In contrast to the neighboring states of the Midd
of the principles of human rights and humane law, they created
able to combine their military force with a tolerant and rational
these talents and skills of theirs, they lived for a thousand year
original civilization, together with dozens of native peoples of di
gions, yet without losing their national identity.

Summary

The Hittites were sovereign in Anatolia first as principalities (
kingdom (1600 - 1460 BC) and finally as a Great Kingdom (1460
were based on realism. They ruled the native Anatolian peoples,
and the Hurrians, with tolerance and understanding. They profit
ples which at first were much superior to themselves in cultur
respect for their customs and religions, they did not even chang
Taking cuneiform writing from Mesopotamia, they became one of
of their age.

They managed foreign policy by creating buffer states and
through marriage. Showing respect for law, human rights and ag
to be honest. However it was very difficult to administer numer
balanced and harmonious policy. Perhaps the revolt of Hattusilis I
and his illegal seizure of the throne opened the way to others, th
of western Anatolia who were to be the main factor in the destr
Thus an eight centuries old great state ended in attacks from wit

**The Contributions of Turkish Scholars to the Study of
Civilizations**

In 1906 German scholars carried out the first Hittite excavatio
In 1917 Hrozny deciphered the Hittite language of the cuneiform
1920's and 1930's F. Sommer, Hans Ehelolf, Friedrich Forrer and
study of these. During this period there were as yet no traine
archaeologists in this field.

ommencement of Turkish studies on Hittite language and art was not the achieve-
holars but of Atatürk. This great leader founded the Turkish Historical Society and
d research into the Hittites and the oldest civilizations that had lived in Anatolia.

old and silver works revealed by Remzi Oğuz Arık and Hamit Koşay at
k, site of one of the most important excavations done in the twentieth century,
reat contributions to the world of scholarship. Later such scholars as B.
er, Hans G. Güterbock and H. von der Osten came to Turkey from Germany.
gists Tahsin Özgüç and Nimet Özgüç trained under them and carried out system-
tions at Kültepe and numerous other sites. These efforts brought Turkish proto-
esearch to the forefront on an international level.

r portion of the works from the Hattian-Hittite period that are in the Museum of
Civilizations have come from the excavations of Arık, Koşay and Tahsin and Nimet
s museum is among the foremost half dozen museums of the world. Currently
s and research concerning the Hattian-Hittite and Neo-Hittite periods (2500 -700
atolia are being carried out at various sites by the students of the Özgüç couple:
e, Aykut Çınaroğlu and Aliye Öztan. Two of their other students, Hayat Erkanal
gan Erkanal, did their doctoral studies in Berlin under B. Hrouda; they are now
v dimensions to the study of Aegean prehistory. On being invited to Turkey from
B. Landsberger, and Hans G. Güterbock first acquired for the Faculty of History
aphy a rich library on the subjects of Sumerology, Assyriology and Hittitology.
this they trained successful young scholars, especially in the fields of Assyriology
ology. Their students have made successful publications in foreign languages on
ects. Among these students are Emin Bilgiç and Kemal Balkan as well as Firuzan
rure Tosun and Kadriye Yalvaç. In particular. Kemal Balkan has been received
and appreciation due to the works which, as the philologist of the Kültepe exca-
has published in foreign languages.

under of Hittite studies in Turkey is Sedat Alp. One of the young students sent to
n 1932, he took his doctorate in Berlin and became assistant professor in Ankara
en started his work on Hittitology. He soon became internationally known with the
l books that he wrote in foreign languages. Sedat Alp is one of the foremost rep-
s of the world's second generation of Hittitologists. This second generation of
titologists includes, first of all, the senior member, Hans G. Güterbock. Others
abetical order, Sedat Alp, O. R. Gurney, A. Kammenhuber, E. Laroche, H. Otten.
has excavated at Konya Karahöyük. The archaeological finds of this site that he
and published have enriched our knowledge of Hittite art, especially glyptic art.

heir successful publications and studies the students whom Sedat Alp has trained
ing on the road opened to them by their teacher. They are: Hayri Ertem, Yaşar
ygül Süel, Cem Karasu and Sedat Erkut. Aygül Süel and her husband, Mustafa
bringing to light an important settlement at Şapinuva. This site yielded 2500
tablets at the very beginning of the excavations.

Halil Demircioğlu was another one of the young people who
in 1932. Besides being a scholar of classics and a historian of
Turkish historian to present in Turkey and from a western viewp
ancient eastern civilizations. That Halil Demircioğlu died in his r
loss.

The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara has assum
serving the works of the Hattians and Hittites. The founder of th
with the help of Güterbock he created the first arrangement of t
who brought the Ankara Museum and its garden to its present
museum curator, Raci Temizer, who also successfully carri
Eskiyapar and Inandık. This important museum also continued
nistration of Inci Bayburtluoğlu, who was first acting director, an
this post is Ilhan Temizsoy; with the additions he has made to th
ful arrangements, he has brought new dimensions to the mu
made it possible for those working there to make scientific publ

Parallel to Ankara, an important center of Hittitology comp
also found in Istanbul. At the University of Istanbul scholars who
Bossert, Kurt Bittel and Friedrich Naumann, scholars such as H
Mustafa Kalaç and Muhibbe Darga, have made great strides i
with their excavations and their publications in foreign languag
Ali Dinçol and Belkis Dinçol, currently at the University of Ist
varied activities and in particular they are publishing in foreign

Another place in Istanbul where Turkish Hittitology is a
Ancient Orient. Together with Assyriologist Fritz Rudolf Krau
Muazzez Çığ and Hatice Bozkurt have realized praiseworthy w
Assyriologists Veysel Donbaz and Fatma Yıldız are doing much
Donbaz has also won praise abroad with his scholarly publicati

The representative of Hittite art at the Museum of the Ancie
who has numerous scientific publications.

Though they are specialists in other fields there are other
of the subjects in which they are involved, have contributed val
Hittite art. In alphabetical order they are: Tomris Bakır, Altan Ç
Engin Özgen and Ilknur Özgen.

Turkish scholars such as Sedat Alp, Tahsin Özgüç and the v
courses on the Hittite civilization as guest professors in
Universities. Likewise, Ahmet Ünal, a pupil of Halil De
Kammenhuber, and also Hatice Gonnet, a student of Laro
Hittitology in Munich and Paris, respectively.

ikman and the Drawings of Hittite Sculptural Works

y studies of Hittite artwork in 1944, traveling by wagon and on horseback. In
ent weeks at the sites of Alacahöyük and Boğazköy. Because the reliefs at
e in a very poor state of preservation, taking photographs of them did not give
Therefore I thought it necessary to have drawings made. In this connection I
k Epikman, one of the foremost artists of Ismet Inönü's time, and asked him if
do such drawings. With great unselfishness Refik Epikman accepted my pro-
worked together with him at Yazılıkaya for two weeks. First he would make
e reliefs. Then he reviewed these at different times of day and in different
r the third or forth corrections, he would arrive at a final result. Thus were
ngs of the sculptures at Alacahöyük (Fig. 83), the guardian god (Fig. 84, 85)
Fig. 83c) at gateways of Hattusha, and also the many relief works at Yazılıkaya
55a, 56, 57a, 58, 59a). From 1949 on (E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst,*
bb. 1-54) these drawings were published in my books and were received with
world literature. I consider it my duty to acknowledge with respect and affec-
ved to my late friend, Refik Epikman.

The Hurrians

urrians are first encountered in southeastern Anatolia in the last quarter of
rd millennium. The earliest written document in their language concerns the
ling of a temple in the city of Urkis, south of present-day Mardin; this is now
This inscription is engraved upon a stone plaque guarded by an attractive
n. Written in archaic cuneiform script, it is dated to the years around 2300
Urkis was located south of Mardin in a mountainous area between the upper
ne of its tributaries, the Habur River. Since another document mentions this
where the Hurrian god Kumarbi lives, it is understood that the area in ques-
he main Hurrian centers.

ounter the Hurrians in tablets found in the Karum II settlement at Nesa in
Emin Bilgiç has identified some fifteen Hurrian names in these. One
ese persons were in Anatolia as businessmen, like the Assyrians.

first founded short-lived small principalities in the first half of the 2nd mil-
towards the middle of this millennium the state of Mitanni, founded under
European tribes and made up of a mostly Hurrian population, was after
l greatest political power of the contemporary Middle East.

d millennium the main Hurrian centers were, in the area bounded by
Diyarbakır, Mardin and Kerkük: Hanigalbat, Tell Feheriye, Shagar, Bazar
man and also, south of Kerkük, Nuzi (Yorgan Tepe). Besides these the

Hurrians lived together with Semitic peoples in these cities o
Atchana), Ugarit (Ras Shamra) and Mari, by the Euphrates sout
precise location of the city of Wassukkanni, center of the state o
written sources, is not known. But it must be in the area between
rivers. Although a number of scholars have proposed that Wassu
settlement at Tell Feheriye, south of Mardin in the Habur area, n
been possible. Also unknown is the previously mentioned Mam
Hurrian king Anum Hirbi. However Kemal Balkan rightly consid
tainous area of Anatolia at Elbistan, Şar or Göksun.

Thus it becomes clear that in the time of the Mitanni state in
lennium BC, the Hurrians were living in southeastern Anatolia, n
northern Syria. Towards the middle of this period the Hurrians ha
cially in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea, as far as the bord
is of the opinion that there were no Hurrian settlements on the we
and the Anti-Taurus.

As we noted above the kings of the state of Mitanni were of
understood that some of the Aryan tribes migrating towards In
Anatolia via the Caucassus or the high pastures of Iran and mixe
Like the symbiosis that the Hittites formed with the Hattians
brought into being a hybrid stock. Again, as in central Anatolia, t
higher cultural level that of the newcomers. But the new arrivals
people. It seems that these nobles called Marianni achieved su
quering it thanks to their knowledge of horse raising and t
chariots. At Boğazköy were found four tablets in Hittite concer
horses to a foreign environment. The lost original of this was wri
Kikkuli. In the Hittite translation the technical terms and number
names of the Mitannian kings were also Sanskrit, for exam
Saussatar, Artatama and Tushratta. Likewise the kings of Mit
Indian deities as Indra, Mitra, Varuna and Nasatya. But Kammen
European contribution should not be exaggerated and has publis
ject. He concludes: "In the years 1450 - 1350 BC the Mitanni - Hu
Aryan upper class, but this group also appears to be Hurrianized.

In the 15th century BC, that is in the Hittite Old Kingdom's
a century from Hantilis I to Huzziyas II, Assyria and the pri
southern Anatolia were under Mitannian rule. For more that a h
to the reigns of the Egyptian Pharaohs Tuthmosis IV, Amenophis
kings of Mitanni were strong enough to do what they pleased in
belonging to the Hurrian king Mattiwaza (see above) we lear
Saussattar had seized from Assur a gate decorated with gold an
palace in his capital at Wassukkanni. King Tushratta was strong
ferent occasions, the statue of Ishtar at Nineveh to heal an ailing

f the Mitannian kingdom was short-lived. The shrewd statesman and great com-
piluliumas re-established Hittite sovereignty in northern Mesopotamia and
efeated Tushratta and made Mitanni a kingdom dependent on Hattusha,
attiwaza as king. But the Hurrian predominance which had begun in the Old
iod was transformed into an even more intense cultural influence throughout
e Great Kingdom. We have seen above in the chapter on the Great Kingdom
of the Mitannian period of decline that began with Suppiluliumas I. The last
ni was Sattuara II, a contemporary of the Assyrian Shalmaneser I (1274 - 1245
ot know whether there was another king after him.

gean migrations that obliterated Troy and Hattusha probably swept away the
gdom as well. Be that as it may, shortly thereafter the Urartians, who were
tions of the Hurrians - nephews, so to speak - were to take their place in
a in the region of Van.

of Mitanni

e to establish with considerable accuracy the dates for the reigns of the Indo-
who ruled the Hurrian people for 250 years between 1500 and 1250 BC. For,
below, these monarchs carried out a written correspondence with various
Artatama with pharaoh Tuthmosis IV (1412 - 1402 BC); Shutarna II with
1402 - 1364 BC); Tushratta with both Amenophis III and Amenophis IV
. Having thus defined the reigns of those three kings we are in a position to
proximate dates for the five kings that preceded Artatama. Since this
orresponded with the Egyptian Tuthmosis, he must have been king during
e same period, in the years 1412 - 1402 BC. It will be appropriate to posit for
Saussatar, a reign of thirty years (1440 - 1410 BC). We have no information
her, Parsatatar. For this reason we are of the opinion that it will be enough
eign of 10 years. As for Baratarna, if we accept that he may have ruled for
e arrive at the dates 1470 - 1450 BC for his reign. We believe that there is
irty year margin of error for this dating.

succeeded by Mattiwaza; having been brought to the throne by the Hittite
s (1380 - 1345 BC), he must be contemporary with him. Likewise Sattuara
of the Assyrian king Assur-uballit (1365 - 1330 BC) and the last Mitannian
contemporary of the Assyrian Shalmaneser I (1274 - 1245 BC). Thus the
s are also established fairly accurately.

ne Mitannian kings with, at the most, a 30 year margin of error, is of great
ratarna, whom we have dated to the years 1470 -1450 BC, was contem-
lrimi of Alalakh and, through him, with the Hittite king Zidanta II. Thus
f Alalakh are dated and also the Hittite Old Kingdom chronology acquires

Shutarna (1490 - 1470 BC) and his Father Kirta (1500

As is understood from the impressions of a "dynastic seal" on
(Tell Atchana) and belonging of the reign of King Saussatar, the f
named Kirta. The dynastic seal carries an inscription in cuneiform;
sions is read: "Shutarna DUMU Kirta LUGAL Maitani", *i.e.*, "Shutar
Mitanni". Kammenhuber rightly notes the contradiction between th
is an Indo-European word, and the name of his father, Kirta, w
Saussatar used a seal belonging to Shutarna perhaps indicates that
the founder of the Mitannian dynasty. When speaking of the Kingdo
reign of Mattiwaza, the Hittite king Suppiluliumas (1280 - 1345
sovereign over Shutarna and over the Land of Mitanni"; by this he
of (founded by) Shutarna.

Baratarna (1470 - 1450 BC)

A statue found at Alalakh (Tell Atchana) and now in the Britis
seated king Idrimi. In its inscription (lines 44ff.) are the words "
MESH Hurri KI", *i.e.*, "Baratarna, King of the Hurrian forces". Since
mention Mitanni it is possible that Baratarna was king of some othe
generally included in the Mitannian dynasty, for the kings of Mita
simply as King of the Hurrians and Tushratta in one instance calls
of the Hurrians". Since Baratarna is mentioned by Idrimi he must be
king and have lived before Saussatar. As we shall see immediately b
temporary to Idrimi's son Nikmepa.

The death of this king was a dating point in Nuzi and the express
Baratarna died and was burned" was used. As Heinrich Otten ha
record of cremation to appear in Asia Minor. As is known, the crem
characteristic of the Indo-European tribes and the Hittites also burn

Saussatar (1440 - 1410 BC) and his Father Parsatatar (

On a tablet found at Nuzi (modern Yorgan Tepe) is written
impression of King Saussatar. The seal inscription reads: "Saus
LUGAL Maitani", *i.e.*, Saussatar, King of Mitanni and son of Parsata

On tablets from Alalakh (Tell Atchana) belonging to the reign o
of this city, mentioned in connection with King Shutarna, presents
ing to the Land of Mushki. He expresses the relative particle with
Thus we acquire an idea of Hurrian influence in Alalakh and we also
contemporary with Nikmepa. The Nikmepa in question was a so
above, Idrimi was a contemporary of the Hittite king Zidanta II.

satar appears as an important historical figure in the records of Boğazköy and his king, as we stated above, took Assyria under his rule and was powerful enough om there to his own palace at Wassukkanni a gate inlaid with gold and silver.

ama (1420 - 1440 BC)

letters of El Amarna Artatama is twice mentioned as the great grandfather of King From the same documents we learn that this king gave an unnamed daughter of to the Egyptian pharaoh Tuthmosis IV (1412 - 1402) only after the marriage had osed seven times. This matter indicates the great international prestige and politi-ndence that the Mitannian state had already attained during the reign of this king. own whether Artatama was a son or relative of Saussatar.

rna II (1400 - 1385 BC)

onarch was a son of Artatama and the father of Artashumara and Tushratta, who cceed him one after the other. He gave his daughter Giluhepa in marriage to the menophis III (1402 - 136n4 BC). Helck states that this marriage took place in the of the Egyptian king's reign.

umara (1384 - 1380 BC)

nderstood from the El Amarna letters, Artashumara, son of Shutarna II, became early age but was killed before he had ruled for very long.

tta (1380 - 1350 BC)

Shutarna II and the younger brother of Artashumara, Tushratta acceded to the young age. As is related in the Amarna letters, it was during the reign of this king ttite king Suppiluliumas attacked the kingdom of Mitanni. In the first war, as was unsuccessful. Of the plunder he took from the Hittite army Tushratta sent chariot and a girl and a boy to the king of Egypt. The satellite states of the gdom were afraid of the Hittite raids; in particular they regarded with suspicion s between the kingdom of Amurru and Hattusha. For this reason both the Mitanni and the other Syrian principalities began to establish close cooperation The longest and most important of the Mitanni letters found at Amarna are from Amenophis III and IV. From the same letters we learn that Tushratta sent his er Taduhepa as a wife to Amenophis III and that she was later taken into the rem by Amenophis IV, that is, Akhenaten (1364 - 1347 BC). In the Amarna let-ds her greetings to Tushratta via Amenophis III and IV.

erstood that in this period Assyria was under Mitannian rule. As a matter of fact d become strong enough to have the statue of Ishtar at Nineveh sent twice to g Egyptian king, as we stated above.

Before Tushratta the kings of Mitanni had referred to t
Mitanni", *i.e.* "King of the Land of Mitanni". But Tushratta in
uses the title "Tushratta LUGAL GAL, LUGAL Kur Mitanni",
King of the Land of Mitanni." That Tushratta was able to use
Gal" - "Great King", especially towards the Pharaoh, is amp
power attained by Mitanni in this period. In Tushratta's reign t
longer written as Maitanni in inscriptions, but rather in the for

The political power that Mitanni attained in the reign of the
last long. Under the successful rule of Suppiluliumas, dominan
pass into Hittite hands.

Mattiwaza (1350 - 1320 BC)

The strong army and shrewd politics of the Hittite king S
the end of Mitanni. The Hittite king first reached an agreemen
venting relations between Mitanni and this country. Later, t
separated Mitanni from Egypt as a first step. Then, with
Wassukkanni, he removed the dominance of Mitanni; howev
Mattiwaza upon the throne as a king dependent upon the Hitti
him his daughter in marriage. Though Suppiluliumas might s
dom of Mitanni to live for the sake of his daughter, it is obviou
desire to create a buffer state against the rising power of Assy

Sattuara I (1320 - 1300 BC), Washashata (1300 - (1280 - 1270)

In the last days of Suppiluliumas and during the reign of
obliged to struggle against the Egyptians in the kingdoms i
paities in Anatolia. This prevented them from aiding the king
tence as a satellite state they wished to continue. Because
Assyrian king Assur-Uballit conquered upper Mesopotami
Hanigalbat. Later, around the year 1300, the Assyrian king Ad
quered the small state of Hanigalbat that was under the rule
of Mitanni became a satellite of Assyria in the reign of Sattu
sources we mentioned above and which we shall see below t
state of Mitanni, but of the Land of Hanigalbat. As we have n
nal name of the Land of Hurri. Washashata, a son of Sattuara I
dom but, lacking the aid of the Hittites, this resistance produ
the Assyrian sources that around 1270 BC they again attacke
The Assyrian king Shalmaneser relates the raid as follo
Aramaean forces with him (Sattuara II). They had cut off the p
My army was weary and thirsty. Nevertheless I dared to attac
this battle Hanigalbat became a province of Assyria.

e Hurrian Civilization

e Hurrians produced important works, especially in the fields of mythology, religion rature. Although the Hurrians are generally regarded essentially as a people who con- the Sumerian-Babylonian cultural tradition, they did have creations of their own in fields, as we shall see below. The Hurrians were dominant as a political power for)/250 years; in this brief interval they were unable to achieve much development.

rrian Writing

Hurrian texts were generally written in a very phonetic way, in Babylonian m and with scant use of ideograms. Some were written in the consonant script that d in Ugarit. Hittite cuneiform closely resembles that of the Hurrians but for the philologists do not see a Hurrian influence in this similarity. However Laroche con- at the last word is not yet said on this subject.

Hurrian Language

ian is one of the most interesting languages of the ancient Near East. It has no rela- e Indo-European or Semitic languages and is also completely distinct from the pre- Hattian tongue. The most salient characteristic of Hurrian is a grammatical struc- d on suffixes. Yet Hurrian shows no affinity with other known agglutinative lan- The Urartian language that we shall see below is nothing but a continuation of As we noted above, the earliest written document in Hurrian was found in the city This text was inscribed in archaic cuneiform upon a stone tablet guarded by a tuette of a lion. Now in the Louvre, it is dated to the years around 2300 BC.

nost important text belonging to the Hurrians is the letter written by King (1380 - 1350 BC) to Amenophis III. Found in Egypt in the El Amarna archive, this containing more than 400 lines of Hurrian is now preserved in the Near Eastern the Berlin Museum. In the Amarna archive were numerous other letters from the and treating of the same subjects, but these were written in Akkadian. Thus it le, after long studies done by many linguists, both to translate the letter in Hurrian ain much information on Hurrian grammar. Important documents written in ve also been found in such centers as Hattusha, Mari and Ugarit.

logy

rrians produced beautiful works especially in the field of mythology, works which fluence upon their neighbors the Hittites and later, through the Phoenicians and ttites, upon the Hellene world. Inscribed tablets bearing the Akkadian, Hurrian anguage versions of the epic of Gilgamish were found at Hattusha. In their essen- stories conform to the ancient Babylonian original but they are a new Hurrian n and more integrated. The best preserved is the one in Hittite.

The greatest epic of the Hurrians was written on the subject
of the gods. Translations of this story from Hurrian to Hittite w
Kumarbi legend later passed to the Hellenes via the Phoenician a
had major influences upon the works of Homer and Hesiod. A sur
section on Hittite culture.

There are other Hurrian epics such as "Ullikummi", "The K
"The Dragon-Headed Serpent Hedammu" and "Gurparanzahu",
"Kessi the Hunter", "Apu", "The Good Son and the Bad Son",
Childless Couple". Most of these are literary rather than religi
songs in the sub-headings of the tablets.

Religion

The Hurrian religion was based on sound rules and well
powerful priests. For this reason it spread to Kizzuwatna and, fro
onwards, to the land of the Hittites. As we saw in detail above, at
important of the Hittite sanctuaries, the names written in hierog
deities are Hurrian names. With Puduhepa, daughter of a pries
Hattusilis III, the Hurrian religion passed in its entirety to the
have treated the subject of Hurrian religion in the section on the

Architecture

Nuzi and Alalakh in the Land of Hurri were both seats of
kings. In both cities were found tablets written in Hurrian and,
tery, seals and wall paintings in the Mitannian style. According
the buildings brought to light in the Hurrian layers of these cit
the work of Mitannian artisans. Many scholars have in fact linked
palaces at Alalakh and the palace of King Saussatar's governor a
we have no clues as to which characteristics of these buildings
Mitannians.

At both the Yarimlim and the Nikmepa palaces the "angled
and also the large rectangular halls with fireplaces have be
characteristics. But the same scholars who have made these s
that these features go back as far as the Cemdet Nasr period, th
3rd millennium BC. Whereas even if the Hurrians already existe
yet settled in the area of Syria.

However the Aegean influences indicated by Hrouda and N
tures at Tell Atchana (Alalakh) are appropriate to what we unde
of Syria during the period of the Mitannian kingdom. Like the Ae
in other branches of art from the Mitannian layers at Atchana,

tive towards outside influences. Yet it is difficult to say that this attitude is related rians only. That the entrance to the ceremonial hall in both palaces is organized in of a pillared or columned passageway is indeed an influence of the Minoan-n civilizations. As Naumann has stated, certain features are truly obvious of the Minoan culture: the existence of introverted blocks of rooms in the palace, the multi-storied structure of some sections, the use of nearly square rooms t size that are formed by dividing long halls into two with wooden pillars; the of these rooms with frescoes resembling those of the Cretan palaces. The pillared ed entrances to the ceremonial rooms in both palaces are the first examples of the e structure which we shall see in Late Hittite art. As for the palace at Nuzi which the reign of King Saussatar (1440 - 1410 BC), from the viewpoint of the ground gement and the shape of the rooms, this recalls the Zimrilim Palace at Mari. If we nd the fact that King Zimrilim was a contemporary of Hammurabi (1728 -1686 BC) x Hurrian texts on religious subjects were found in this city in the same layer, that el belonging to Hammurabi's time, then it is possible to think that the Palace of Hurrian work. But it is difficult to accept that Mari was a Hurrian city at the end or beginning of the 17th century BC, simply on the basis of those six Hurrian

lace that Bahadır Alkım brought to light at Tilmen Höyük near Islahiye is closely he Yarimlim and Nikmepa palaces at Atchana. The old (1 - 7) and the new (8 - 16 of the building, constructed in different periods, form an angle; this recalls the n at Yarimlim Palace. Rooms 5 - 7 resemble the arrangement of rooms 5A, 5 and rimlim structure. As with the Atchana palaces the great hall, number 4, reveals uence to a great extent; its roof is understood to have been supported by four pil-ooms (8 - 16) of the later constructed section are close parallels to the Nikmepa n the standpoint of their ground plan; hall number 13 and the rooms surrounding ged like salon number 4 and its surrounding rooms at Nikmepa Palace. That no Nuzi (we shall consider this below) was found at the Tilmen palace casts doubt upposed relation of this type of architecture with the Hurrians.

ture

owledge of Hurrian sculpture is as vague as our knowledge of their architecture. wants to link to Hurrian art the statue of Idrimi, a ruler who was vassal to the king Baratarna. This proposition is no more than a guess.

ld Hrouda rightly accepts that this statue, which came to light at Atchana and ow in the British Museum, is a creation of the Syrian area, like the bronze of a similar style obtained from Lebanon. Strommenger also is of the opinion that is Syrian artworks. On the other hand a relief belonging to the fountain of the Assur at Assur does show some Hurrian characteristics at least from the stand-bject matter. This relief shows great stylistic similarity to the Idrimi statue and as seen in it a connection with Mitannian art.